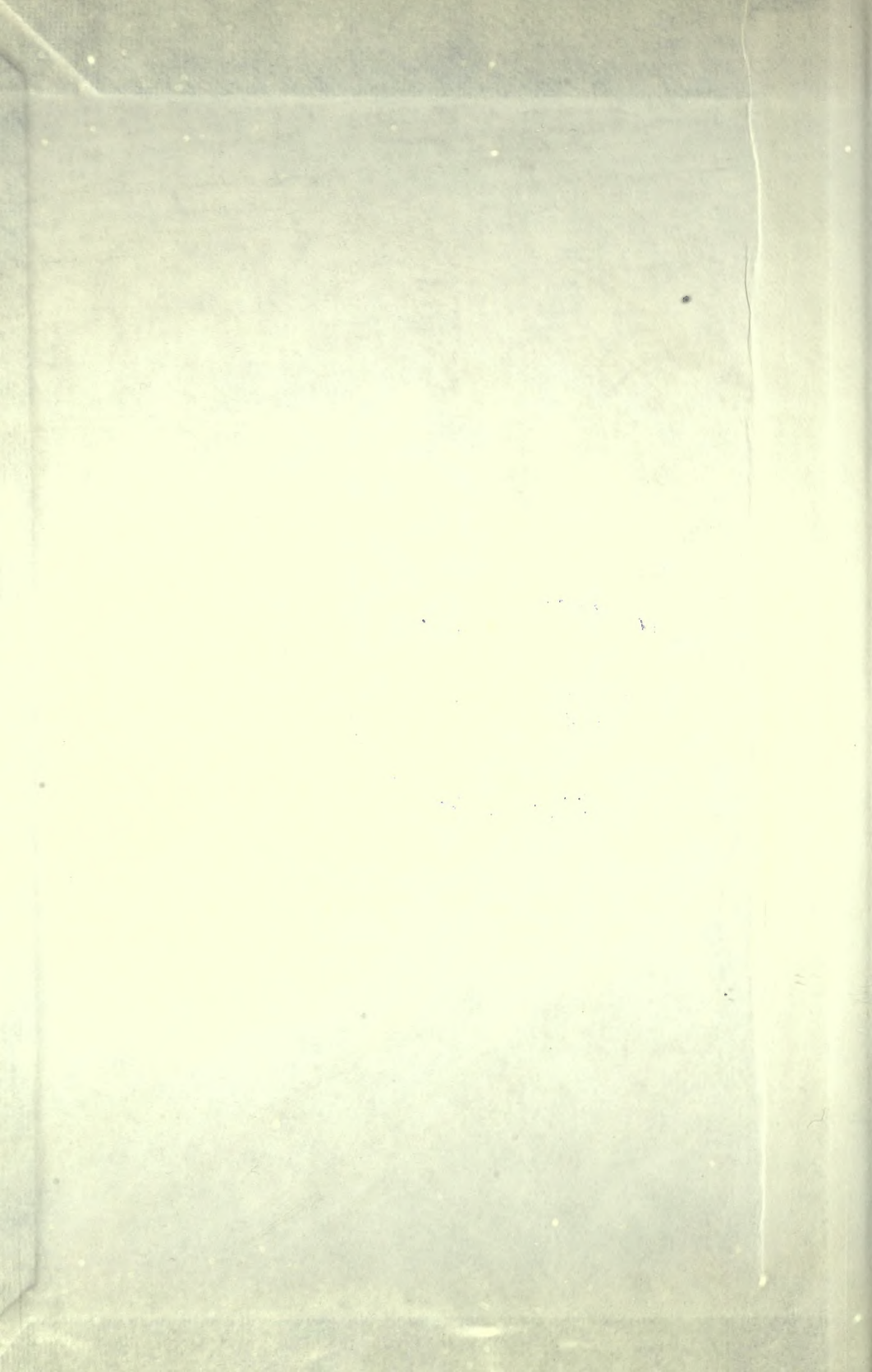










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A CONTRIBUTION

TO THE STUDY OF

ANGLO-NORMAN INFLUENCE

ON

ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES

BY

R. E. ZACHRISSON



LUND 1909

PRINTED BY HÅKAN OHLSSON



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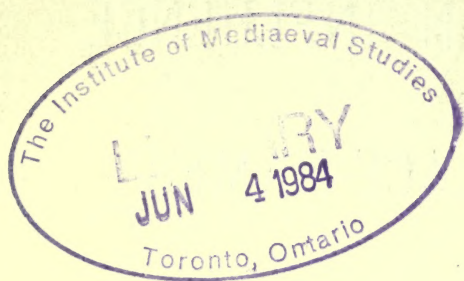
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R. E. ZACHRISSON



—❖❖❖—  
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## Preface.

The object of this treatise is to elucidate some questions concerning the influence which French or rather Anglo-Norman — the usual name for the French dialect spoken in England — has exercised on English place-names.

A detailed account of the various kinds of this influence would fill the pages of several volumes. In the present work I have only considered a number of sound-changes in English place-names which cannot be explained otherwise than as due to Anglo-Norman influence.

Here, again, I have mainly confined myself to dealing with such cases where the phonetic criteria do not admit of any doubt as to the cause of the change, and where, moreover, some of the forms due to Anglo-Norman influence have remained to the present day.

I do not presume to have definitely solved all the more or less intricate problems involved in these investigations; I hope, however, that my work may contribute to arouse an increased interest in the (sad to say) much neglected study of English place-names in general and in particular of French influence upon them.

It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to my teacher in English philology, Professor Eilert Ekwall of the University of Lund, who has not

only suggested this work, but has helped me with much kind advice and valuable information throughout the progress of it. My thanks are also due to Dr. G. E. Fuhrken of Gothenburg, who has revised my treatise from the point of view of the language.

Karlskrona, February 1909.

*R. E. Zachrisson.*

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## Abbreviations.

### Abbreviations of works consulted in ascertaining the early forms of place-names <sup>1</sup>.

A.S. Chr. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, ed. C. Plummer & J. Earle. Oxford 1892.

Anc. Ch. = Ancient Charters, royal and private prior to 1200 (1095—1200), ed. J. H. Round. Pipe Roll Society. London 1888.

Annales Mon. = Annales monastici (mainly of 13 c.), ed. H. R. Luard. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland 36. London 1846—49.

Bath Ch. = Two chartularies of the priory of St. Peter at Bath (most of the charters fall within the period 1066—1377), ed. W. Hunt. Som. Record Soc. London 1893.

Benoit = Benoit de Sainte Maure, Chronique des ducs de Normandie, ed. F. Michel. Paris 1836—44.

Birch = W. de Gray Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum. London 1885—93.  
— The figures refer to the number of the charters.

Bruton and Montacute Ch. = Two cartularies of the priories of Bruton and Montacute (12 c.—14 c.). Som. Record Society. London 1894.

C.R. = Calendar of the Close Rolls. — The earliest (1204—27) are published by the Record Commissioners: Rotuli litterarum clausarum, ed. T. H. Hardy. London 1833—44. The others are being published in the Rolls Series. London 1892 ff. They consist of contemporary enrolments of Royal Letters Close. See the C.R. of Edward II., 1307—13, Introduction.

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<sup>1</sup> Our statements as to the date of the MSS. are generally derived from the Introductions to the various printed editions. We are indebted to Mr. H. Hall, F.S.A., Master of the Rolls, for the date of a few important MSS. For a detailed account of the import and contents of the various records, see S. R. SCARGILL-BIRD, A guide to the various classes of documents preserved in the Public Record Office (London 1908), or C. GROSS, Sources and Literature of English History. London etc. 1900.

Capgrave = John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, ed. F. C. Hingeston. *Chronicles and Memorials* 1. London 1858.

Cat. A.D. = *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* I—V. *Rolls Series*, London 1890 ff.

Ch.R. = *A Calendar of the Charter Rolls* I, II. *Rolls Series*. London 1903, 1906. — Vol. I contains charters of 1226—1257, vol. II, charters of 1257—1300.

Cumbwell Ch. = *Charters of Cumbwell priory (1160—1270)*. Kent Archæol. Soc. *Archæologia Cantiana* V, VI, VIII.

D.B. = *Domesday book seu Liber Censualis Wilhelmi Primi regis Angliæ*, vols. I, II (= *Exchequer D.B.*), ed. A. Farley, London 1783; vols. III, IV, ed. H. Ellis. London 1816. — Vol. I contains all the counties of which a survey was taken, with the exception of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, contained in vol. II; vol. III contains indices and a general introduction, vol. IV, *Additamenta: Exon Domesday* (= a survey of the five south-western shires), *Inquisitio Eliensis, Liber Winton, Boldon Book*. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* (London 1865) II, pp. 34, 36, assigns to the *Exchequer* and *Exon MSS.* so early a date as 1086. The evidence of the language points, however, to a considerably later date. Cf. below, p. 37 ff. and p. 72 note<sup>1</sup>.

Dv. D.B. = *The Devonshire Domesday and geld inquest, extensions, translations, and indices*, ed. J. B. Rowe. *Devon Assoc. for Advancement of Science*. Plymouth 1884—92.

Earle = J. Earle, *A hand-book to the land-charters and other Saxon documents*. Oxford 1888.

F.A. = *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids etc.* (1284—1431). *Rolls Series*. London 1899 ff. — Contains *Kirby's Quest* (1284), *Nomina Villarum* (1316), the *Book of Aids* (= *Aid of 20 Edward III. and 3 Henry IV.*, MSS. early 15th cent.) the *Subsidy Rolls of 6 Henry VI. and 9 Henry VI.* Four volumes have appeared. This work is quite indispensable for an investigation into the history of English place-names. *Kirby's Quest* mainly exists in copies of the 15th and 16th cent. Of the *Nomina Villarum* there are original returns only for a small number of counties. In the Introduction to the F.A., vol. I, p. VIII, we are expressly told, however, that 'the readings of the original returns have been preferred to those of the books compiled from them', and that 'the spellings of names have been amended with the assistance of contemporary documents not always those from which the books were compiled but at any rate relating to the same transactions.'

Facsimile of Ch. = *Facsimiles of ancient charters in the Brit. Mus.*, ed. E. A. Bond. London 1873—78.

Fantosme = *Chronique de Fantosme*. In vol. III of *Benoit, Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. F. Michel.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. E. Walberg of Lund, who has examined a facsimile of the *Exchequer D.B.*, is of opinion that, as far as the handwriting is concerned this MS. may very well be placed to the middle of the 12th century.

Fr.Ch. = Calendar of documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland (918—1206), ed. J. H. Round. Rolls Series. London 1899.

Frideswide Ch. = Chartulary of the monastery of St. Frideswide (1004—1537), ed. S. R. Wigram, Oxford Hist. Soc. 1895—96.

Gaimar = The A.N. Chronicle of G. Gaimar, ed. T. Wright. London 1850.

Geld. Inq. = The geld inquests of Np. and the five south-western counties; printed in Feudal England by J. H. Round (London 1892), and in the Vict. Hist. of the respective counties. — They record two assessments of Danegeld made between 1066 and 1084.

Gl. Recs. = Calendar of records of the corporation of Gloucester (1155—1672), ed. W. H. Stevenson. Gloucester 1893.

Guill. le Mar. = Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ed. P. Meyer Paris 1891—1901.

H.R. = Rotuli Hundredorum (i.e. the ›Hundred Rolls‹), tempore Hen. III. et Edw. I. Record Comm. London 1812—18. — The Inquisitions of 1274—75 and 1279 are printed from contemporary MSS., not so the Inquisition of 1255.

I.C.C. = Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis (MS. c. 1180), subjecitur Inquisitio Eliensis, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton. London 1878.

I(nq.)El. = Inquisitio Eliensis, see I.C.C. — The MSS. of the I.El. belong to the end of the 12th cent.

I.P.M. = Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Rolls Series. London 1898 ff. — They consist of contemporary transcripts of the Inquisitions taken before the Escheators.

Index = Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum, ed. H. Ellis and F. B. Bickley. London 1900.

Jesus Coll. MS. = Jesus College (Oxford) Manuscript 29, leaf 267; printed in An O.E. Miscellany, ed. R. Morris. Early English Text Soc. 49.

Ke. P.F. = Pedes Finium for Kent. Kent Archæol. Soc. Archæologia Cantiana I—VI, XI—XX.

Kemble = J. M. Kemble, Codex diplomaticus ævi Saxonici. London 1839—48. — Vol. VI contains an Index to place-names. The figures refer to the number of the charters.

La. P.F. = Final concords of the county of Lancaster (1196—1307), ed. W. Farrer. Record Soc. for La. and Ch. London 1899.

La. Pi.R. = the Pipe Rolls for Lancashire. Record Soc. for La. and Ch.

La. Recs. = Lancashire and Cheshire Records, ed. W. Selby. Record Soc. for La. and Ch. London 1882—83.

Langtoft = The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, ed. T. Wright. Chron. and Mem. 47. London 1866—68.

Lazamon = Lazamon's Brut, ed. F. Madden. London 1847.

Le. Recs. = Records of the borough of Leicester, ed. M. Bateson. Cambridge 1899.

Le.S. = The Leicestershire Survey 1124—29; printed in Feudal England by J. H. Round.

Li.S. = The Lincolnshire Survey, temp. Hen. I., ed. J. Greenstreet. London 1884. Translation of the same survey by R. E. C. Waters. Lincoln 1883. — The MS. of the Li.S. is of the year 1119 or somewhat earlier.

Mdf. = H. Middendorff, *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*. Halle 1902.

Mi. F.F. = A Calendar of the feet of fines for London and Middlesex (Richard I. — 12 Elizabeth), ed. W. J. Hardy & W. Page. London 1896.

Mon. Brit. = *Monumenta historica Britannica*, ed. H. Petrie & J. Sharpe. London 1848.

Monks Horton Ch. = Charters of Monks Horton priory (1140—1311), ed. J. R. Scott. Kent Archæol. Soc. *Archæologia Cantiana* X.

Mousket = *Chronique rimée* par P. Mousket, ed. Reiffenberg. Brüssel 1836 ff.

Muchelney and Athelney Ch. = Cartularies of the Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney, ed. E. H. Bates. *Som. Rec. Soc.*

Napier-Stevenson = A. S. Napier & W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford collection of early charters and documents*. Oxford 1895.

Nb. Pi.R. = The Pipe Rolls for Northumberland (1273—84), ed. W. Dickson. Newcastle 1854—60.

Nb. Rolls = Three early assize Rolls for Northumberland, ed. W. Page. *Surtees Society* 1891.

Np.S. = The Northampton Survey, Hen. I.—Hen. II.; printed in *Vict. Hist. for Np.*

Nt. Recs. = Records of the borough of Nottingham (1155—1625), ed. W. H. Stevenson. London 1882—89.

P.R. = Calendar of the Patent Rolls. — The earliest (1201—16) are published by the Record Commissioners: *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, ed. T. D. Hardy. London 1835. The others are being published in the *Rolls Series*. London 1891 ff. They consist of contemporary enrolments of Royal Letters Patent. See the P.R. of Edward III., 1327—30, Introduction.

Pi.R. = Pipe Rolls: *Magnum Rotulum* 31 Hen. I. (1130—31), ed. J. Hunter, 1833; *The Great Rolls of the Pipe* 2, 3, 4 Hen. II. (1155—58), ed. J. Hunter, 1844; *Great Roll of the Pipe* 1 Richard I. (1189—90), ed. J. Hunter, 1844 etc. — Nearly all the Pi.R. are printed from contemporary MSS.

Pontefract Ch. = Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract, ed. R. Holmes. *Yo. Archæol. Soc. Record Series* XXV. Leeds 1899.

R.B. = The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall. *Chronicles and Memorials* 99. London 1896. — The MSS. are of the 13th cent. and later.

R.Br. = The Story of England by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, ed. F. J. Furnivall. *Chron. and Mem.* 87. London 1887.

R.Gl. = The metrical Chronicle of Rob. of Gloucester, ed. W. A. Wright. *Chron. and Mem.* 86. London 1887.

Ramsey Ch. = *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. H. Hart & P. A. Lyons. *Chron. and Mem.* 79. London 1884—94.

Rievaulx Ch. = *Cartularium abbathiæ de Rievaille* (1132—1539), ed. J. C. Atkinson. *Surtees Society*, 1889.

(Roman de) Rou = *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou*, ed. H. Andresen. Heilbronn 1877—79.

Searle = W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. Cambridge 1897<sup>1</sup>.

Selborne Ch. = Calendar of charters and documents relating to Selborne and its priory, ed. W. D. Macray. Hampshire Record Soc. London 1891—94.

Sempringham Ch. = Charters relating to the priory of Sempringham, ed. E. M. Poynton. *Genealogist*, new series XV, XVI etc. London 1899—1900.

Sf. P.F. = A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk, ed. W. Rye. Ipswich 1900.

Sf. S.R. = Suffolk in 1327, being a Subsidy Return from the Suffolk Green Book, ed. S. H. A. H. Woodbridge 1906.

Sm. K.Q. = Kirby's Quest for Somerset, *Nomina Villarum* for Som. etc., ed. F. H. Dickinson. Somerset Record Soc. London 1889.

Sm. N.V. = *Nomina Villarum* for Somerset, see Sm. K.Q.

Sm. P.F. = *Pedes Finium* for the county of Somerset (1196—1346), ed. E. Green. Somerset Record Soc. 1892—98.

Sm. S.R. = Subsidy Rolls for Somerset, see Sm. K.Q.

Ss. S.R. = Subsidy Rolls for the county of Sussex. Sussex Archæol. Soc. Collections II, X.

Sweet, O.E.T. = H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*. Early English Text Society, 83.

T.N. = *Testa de Nevill sive Liber Feodorum*, temp. Hen. III. et Edw. I. Record Comm. London 1807. — The bulk of the material in the printed work belongs to the first half of Henry III.'s reign (1216—72). The compilation in its present form may have been made late in the reign of Edward I., Gross, *The sources and literature of Engl. history*, p. 378.

Tax. Eccl. = *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ auctoritate Nicolai IV.* (1291). Record Comm. London 1802.

Thorpe = B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum ævi Saxonici*. London 1865.

V.E. = *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 26 Hen. VIII., ed. J. Caley & J. Hunter. Record Comm. London 1825—34.

Vict. Hist. = *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, ed. A. Constable & Co. London 1900 ff. — Contains excellent accounts of the various D.B. portions, with careful identifications of place-names etc.

Wace = *Roman de Brut* par Wace, ed. Le Roux de Lincy. Rouen 1836.

Yo. I.P.M. = *Yorkshire Inquisitions* (1241—95), ed. W. Brown. Yo. Archæol. and Topogr. Association. Record Series XII, XXIII, 1892—98.

Yo. K.F. = *Knights' Fees in the Survey of York* etc., ed. R. H. Skaife. Surtees Society, 1867.

Yo. K.Q. = Kirby's Inquest for Yo., see Yo. K.F.

Yo. N.V. = *Nomina Villarum* for Yo., see Yo. K.F.

Yo. P.F. = *Pedes Finium* Ebor., ed. W. Brown. Surtees Society, 1897, and Yo. Archæol. and Topogr. Assoc. Journal XI ff.

Yo. S.R. = *Yorkshire lay subsidy* 25 Edw. I. (1297), 30 Edw. I. (1301), ed. W. Brown. Yo. Archæol. Society. Record Series XVI, XXI.

<sup>1</sup> Searle always renders O.E. *þ*, *ð* by *th*, and we have conformed to this habit when quoting instances from his *Onomasticon*.

## Abbreviations of Names of Counties.

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Bd. = Bedford.    | Le. = Leicester.      |
| Be. = Berkshire.  | Li. = Lincoln.        |
| Bu. = Buckingham. | Mi. = Middlesex.      |
| Cb. = Cambridge.  | Mo. = Monmouth.       |
| Ch. = Cheshire.   | Nb. = Northumberland. |
| Co. = Cornwall.   | Nf. = Norfolk.        |
| Cu. = Cumberland. | Np. = Northampton.    |
| Db. = Derby.      | Nt. = Nottingham.     |
| Do. = Dorset.     | Ox. = Oxford.         |
| Du. = Durham.     | Sf. = Suffolk.        |
| Dv. = Devon.      | Sh. = Shropshire.     |
| Es. = Essex.      | Sm. = Somerset.       |
| Gl. = Gloucester. | Sr. = Surrey.         |
| Ha. = Hampshire.  | Ss. = Sussex.         |
| He. = Hereford.   | St. = Stafford.       |
| Ht. = Hertford.   | Wa. = Warwick.        |
| Hu. = Huntingdon. | Wl. = Wiltshire.      |
| Ke. = Kent.       | Wo. = Worcester.      |
| La. = Lancashire. | Yo. = Yorkshire.      |

## Other abbreviations.

a. = anno.

A.N. = Anglo-Norman.

Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.

Bardsley's Dic. = C. W. Bardsley, A Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames. London 1901.

Barth(olomew). = J. G. Bartholomew, The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles. London 1904.

Behrens = D. Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England. Französische Studien V, 2.

Berberich = H. Berberich, Herbarium Apuleii. Anglistische Forschungen 5. Heidelberg 1902.

Blach, Paulsschule = S. Blach, Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule. Halberstadt 1905.

Busch = E. Busch, Laut und Formenlehre der Anglonormannischen Sprache des XIV. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Greifswald 1887.

Bülbring = K. D. Bülbring, Altenglisches Elementarbuch I. Heidelberg 1902.

c. = 1. century, centuries; 2. circa, about.

Camden = W. Camden, Britannia, sec. ed. by E. Gibson. London 1722.

cent. = century, centuries.

cf. = confer, i.e. compare.

Dibelius = W. Dibelius, John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache, Anglia XXIII.

Diez = F. Diez, Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen I. Vierte Auflage. Bonn 1876.

Duignan, St. Pl.Ns. = W. H. Duignan, Notes on Staffordshire Place Names. London 1902.

Duignan, Wo. Pl.Ns. = W. H. Duignan, Worcestershire Place Names. London 1905.

E. = East, Eastern.

e. = early.

E.D.D. = The English Dialect Dictionary by J. Wright. Oxford 1896 ff.

E.D.Gr. = The English Dialect Grammar by J. Wright. Oxford 1905.

E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.

E.E.T.S. E.S. = Early English Text Society. Extra Series.

Ekwall, Jones's Phonography = E. Ekwall, Dr. J. Jones's Practical Phonography. Neudrucke Frühneuenglischer Grammatiken 2. Halle 1907.

Ellis = A. J. Ellis, On Early English Pronunciation V.

Engl. Stud. = Englische Studien.

Forbiger = A. Forbiger, Handbuch der alten Geographie. Hamburg 1877.

Franzmeyer = F. Franzmeyer, Studien über den Konsonantismus und Vokalismus der neuenglischen Dialekte. Diss. Strassburg 1906.

Germ. = Germanic.

Grammont = M. Grammont, La dissimilation consonantique. Dijon 1895.

Grüning = B. Grüning, Schwund und Zusatz von Konsonanten in den neuenglischen Dialekten. Diss. Strassburg 1904.

Hildebrand = F. Hildebrand, Über das französische Sprachelement im Liber Censualis Wilhelms I. von England. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie VIII.

Hövelmann = K. Hövelmann, Zum Konsonantismus der altfranzösischen Lehnwörter in der mittellenglischen Dichtung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Kiel 1903.

Hope = R. C. Hope, A Glossary of Dialectal Place-nomenclature. London 1883.

Horn, Gramm. = W. Horn, Historische neuenglische Grammatik I. Strassburg 1908.

Horn, Gutturallaute = W. Horn, Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Gutturallaute. Berlin 1901.

Horn, Untersuchungen = W. Horn, Untersuchungen zur neuenglischen Lautgeschichte. Quellen und Forschungen 98. Strassburg 1905.

Joret = Ch. Joret, Des caractères et de l'extension du Patois Normand. Paris 1888.

Kluge, Paul's Gr. = F. Kluge, Geschichte der englischen Sprache in Grundriss der germanischen Philologie herausgeg. von H. Paul. Zweite Auflage. Strassburg 1899.

Köppel, Spelling-pron. = E. Köppel, Spelling-pronunciations. Quellen und Forschungen 89. Strassburg 1901.

Kornmesser = E. Kornmesser, Die französischen Ortsnamen germanischer Abkunft. Diss. Strassburg 1888.

Kruisinga = E. Kruisinga, A Grammar of the dialect of West Somerset. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik 18. Bonn 1905.

l. = late.

Lat. = Latin.

Ltbl. = Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.

Lucht = P. Lucht, Lautlehre der älteren Laſamonhandschrift. Palæstra 49. Berlin 1905.

Luhmann = A. Luhmann, Die Überlieferung von Laſamons Brut. Studien zur englischen Philologie herausgeg. von Morsbach, 22. Halle 1906.

M.Br. = Magna Britannia by Th. Cox. London 1726—31.

M.H.G. = Middle High German.

MS., MSS. = Manuscript, Manuscripts.

Mackel = E. Mackel, Die germanischen Elemente in der Französischen und Provenzalischen Sprache. Französische Studien VI, 1.

Mdl. = Midlands.

Menger = L. E. Menger, The Anglo-Norman dialect. New York 1904.

Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. = W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des Langues Romanes I. Paris 1890.

Meynier = G. Meynier, Les noms de lieu romans en France. Extraits des Mémoires de la société d'émulation du Doubs. Besançon 1901.

Mod. = Modern.

Mod. E. = Modern English.

Morsbach, Gramm. = L. Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik. Halle 1896.

Morsbach, Urkunden = L. Morsbach, Über den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache. Heilbronn 1888.

Müller = R. Müller, Über die Namen der nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ. Palæstra 9. Berlin 1900.

N. = North.

N.E. = New English.

N.E.D. = A New English Dictionary.

Neumann = G. Neumann, Die Orthographie der Paston Letters von 1422—61. Marburger Studien zur Englischen Philologie 7. Marburg 1904.

Nyrop, Gramm. = K. Nyrop, Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française I. Copenhagen 1899.

O.E. = Old English.

O.F(r). = Old French.

O.H.G. = Old High German.

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Tanger = G. Tanger, *Englisches Namen-Lexikon*. Berlin 1888.

Taylor, Names = I. Taylor, *Names and their Histories*. London 1898.

W. = West.

Waltemath = W. Waltemath, *Die fränkischen Elemente in der französischen Spraché*. Diss. Strassburg 1885.

Westphal = J. Westphal, *Englische Ortsnamen im Altfranzösischen*. Diss. Strassburg 1891.

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## Introduction.

1. Method of treating the subject of place-names. M. E. and O. Fr. sources of old forms used for our purposes. — Obviously the only right way to treat the subject of place-names is, in the first place, to collect a sufficient number of early spellings; secondly, to establish the etymologies on the evidence of the spellings; thirdly, to ascertain the modern pronunciation. Owing to the limited material upon which we can draw, this ideal treatment of place-names cannot yet be fully carried out. Nevertheless, by taking full advantage of the material at our disposal, we have tried to pay due regard to all these important points.

The most absurd mistakes may arise when attempts at etymologizing or explanations of modern pronunciations are not based on the evidence of early forms. By disregarding this canon some eminent scholars have more than once arrived at erroneous conclusions. In various essays on English philology (HOLTHAUSEN, *Indogerm. Forsch.* XV, p. 275, E. RUDOLF, *Die engl. Orthographie*, Diss. Marburg 1904, p. 39) we are told that Bristol < *Bristou* is due to dialectal addition of *l*, just as Tyn-dale has *rainboll* = rainbow. The addition presupposes loss of final *l*. This loss is mainly confined to some N. and Mdl. dialects (Yo., La., Ch., Nb., Cu., Db. etc.; cf. E. D. Gr. § 255), and does not seem to have been evidenced until late M.E. or early N.E. times. *l* in Bristol is different both as to the place and the time of its appearance. Somerset does not belong to the dialects for which the loss has been evidenced, and we have found such forms as *Bristollum*, Index, *Bristoll*. H.R., T.N.

as early as the 12th and 13th centuries<sup>1</sup>. — KOEPPPEL, Spelling-pron., p. 55, has the following remark on the English place-name Coventry: »Afz. *cuvent* > me. *kuvent*, covent ne. heute noch (køvənt) in den Ortsnamen Covent Garden etc. Hingegen steht für den Städtenamen Coventry neben der alten (u > v) Lautung jetzt auch eine Schriftaussprache (køvəntri)». But Coventry has nothing whatever to do with O.Fr. *cuvent*. The etymology is O.E. *Cofantreo*, A.S.Chr. = »the cave tree» < O.E. *cofa*, N.E. cove. Consequently, the pron. (køvəntri) represents the phonetic development. — JESPERSEN, Engl. Stud. 31, p. 241, suggests that Birmingham might be explained from Brummagem with insertion of *n*. LOGEMAN, Engl. Stud. 34, p. 250, adopts this explanation without making any restrictions. RITTER, Archiv CXIII, p. 34, is of opinion that Brummagem has been altered to Birmingham by association with the numerous English place-names which contain *-ing*. All these theories are, however, flatly contradicted by the fact that, as was correctly pointed out by Jespersen, the forms in *-ing* are by far the oldest: *Bermingeham*, D.B., *Burmingham*, T.N. etc. Forms without *n* do not appear until the 14th and 15th cent.: *Birmycham* (1489), *Brymmycham* (1519), Index. Cf. also the material given under Brummagem in N.E.D.

These and similar errors render it necessary for us to use the current literature on English place-names with the greatest discrimination.

We have endeavoured to gather a copious and trustworthy material of early forms. As the French<sup>2</sup> influence, naturally, does not commence until the time of the Conquest, we have mainly gone through charters and feudal records from the 12th to the 15th cent. England may well be proud of her long, almost unbroken series of such records, which are excellent sources for historical and philological researches.

Most of these documents are written in Latin, it being a well-known fact that literary monuments in English are of very

<sup>1</sup> To account for the form Bristol I have formed a theory of my own, which I hope soon to publish in one of the philological periodicals.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenience the term French is often used throughout this work in the sense of Norman or Anglo-Norman. When no otherwise stated, O. Fr. implies both Continental French and Anglo-Norman.

rare occurrence even as late as the beginning of the 13th c. A comparison indicates, however, that the forms of a certain place-name are, on the whole, the same in a Latin record as in an English one of the same date, and, consequently, the forms in Latin documents are to be considered as reliable material for philological investigations. Such cases of Latinizing as occur, are generally confined to the addition of a Latin ending, *-a*, *-ia*, *-um*, e.g. *Cestria*, Index = Chester, *Wika*, T.N. = Wyke Regis (Do.), *Bristollum*, Index, *Bristola*, V.E. = Bristol etc. It is even a characteristic feature of the Exon D.B. that almost all place-names there exhibit the Latin ending *-a*. More seldom we meet with translations, like *Album Monasterium* (1244), Index = Whitchurch (Sh.), *Villa S. Botulphi*, Index = Boston (Li.), *Nova terra* (1275), Subs. Roll = Newland (Wo.), *Novus burgus*, *Newborough* (1356) = Nobury (Wo.); cf. Duignan, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 115, p. 116.

Numerous forms of interest have also been noted from M.E. chronicles and other purely English works. We have moreover gone through the most important O.Fr. and A.N. chronicles in which English place-names occur. Such purely French forms are generally not given in the lists preceding the various paragraphs. We have thought it a better plan to give them in the text itself, with a view to proving that some changes in which they also have participated, are really due to French influence. On the other hand forms from the interesting collection, *Documents preserved in France* = Fr.Ch., are always given in the lists. In this place we will once for all draw attention to the importance of the various spellings found there. Nearly all the changes which we have ascribed to French influence, occur also here, a fact which seems eminently to corroborate our conclusions.

Most of the works we have consulted, are to be found in the three well-known series: (1) *Calendars of State Papers*, (2) *Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores* or *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*, (3) *Publications of the Record Commissioners*.

It is much to be regretted that we have nothing in English corresponding to the excellent series of French Topographical Dictionaries, where early forms are recorded of most place-names

in a certain district. The only works we know of containing a fairly large collection of early spellings from various times and for various counties, are the Index and the Feudal Aids. It has, indeed, been a toilsome and laborious task to go through scores of books merely to ascertain a sufficient number of early forms for the places of one single county. Nearly all the works we have used, however, are provided with indices to the place-names, arranged alphabetically or according to counties. In some instances only the old forms are given, but in the majority of cases they are identified with their modern equivalents. When this has not been the case we have spared no pains to supply the identification ourselves; moreover, in most dubious cases old identifications have been verified. For such purposes the Feudal Aids and some old geographical works, like CAMDEN's *Britannia*, sec. ed. E. GIBSON, 1722, and THOMAS COX's *Magna Britannia*, c. 1750, in which the old division in hundreds is still kept, have proved very useful. KELLY's Directories, where the place-names of all countries are given alphabetically in their modern forms, have also been of great help to us.

As a rule it has not been considered necessary to note forms later than the 15th cent. The few changes which may appear in the spellings of place-names after that time, can hardly be put down to French influence. On the other hand, as this influence is particularly strong in the 12th cent. and the beginning of the 13th when contemporary records are comparatively scarce, we have tried to bridge the gulf by using as many printed sources as possible from that period. Thus numerous charters, most of which have been published separately by learned Societies, have been consulted.

The modern forms are generally taken from the *Survey Gazetteer*, ed. J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, 1904 (= Barth.) A number of small places which are not given in Barth., we have quoted from Kelly or the Index.

**2. Etymologies. O.E. sources.** — To give full etymologies of all the place-names we have to deal with, would not accord with the general plan of our treatise. We have often only to ascertain that owing to A.N. influence a sound or sound-group has been changed in a certain direction. Hence it will

sometimes suffice to adduce the modern form and a few M.E. references exhibiting the regular development. Nevertheless, as it is always desirable and sometimes necessary to establish the O.E. ground-forms, we have consulted for this purpose several collections of O.E. charters and similar documents in which place-names abundantly occur. Here the identification offers the greatest difficulties. Out of many hundreds of O.E. place-names only a small number have been identified, and the identifications are not always correct. When it has been impossible to find any references to the O.E. ground-form, we have often tried to establish the etymology on the evidence of our earliest and most trustworthy M.E. forms, mainly with the aid of SEARLE'S *Onomasticon* and MIDDENDORFF'S *Flurnamenbuch*. O.E. words which have not found a place there, are quoted from the Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries of SWEET and BOSWORTH-TOLLER.

**3. Pronunciation of place-names. Influence of the spelling.** — As to the modern pronunciation of English place-names there is often a marked difference between the pron. of natives and that of persons unacquainted with the place. The former mostly reflects the phonetic development, the latter is often altogether dependent on the spelling. It is obvious that spelling-pronunciation must be very usual in a language like English, which is composed of so many heterogeneous elements and so conservative in its orthography, that in spite of the most thorough-going phonetic changes the modern spelling in many respects is still the same as in Chaucer's time. Cf. on this question E. KOEPEL, *Spelling-pronunciations*.

Naturally the names of large and well-known places are pronounced in about the same way by all Englishmen, but where small places are concerned, which are hardly known outside the parish or the county, there often exists by the side of the local phonetic pronunciation an artificial one due to the spelling.

Indeed, the spelling plays a very important part in the history of place-names. Various forms which at the first glance might be taken to represent a sound-change, are merely due to careless orthography. The scribes who had to copy various deeds, did not always acquit themselves of their task in the most conscientious way. Nothing is less consistent than early

M.E. or early A.N. orthography. Various symbols were used to denote the same sound, some of them representing the historical spelling, others being attempts to render new sounds phonetically. When owing to continual development within the respective dialects two letters which originally had distinct values, came to denote the same sound, one was frequently put for the other, and this use might be extended even to positions where the old values were still kept.

To make things worse, some letters were often confused, partly owing to outward resemblance, partly from reasons which have not as yet been cleared up. Some of these confusions are really astonishing. A place in Devon called Instow, *Innestow*, F.A., is mentioned in both our D.B. Mss. as *Johannesto*, *-stou*. *Ins*- or *Innes*- of the original has evidently been taken for a shortening of *Johannes*.

Such erroneous forms due to false orthographical representation are sometimes adopted into the spoken language, and frequently used by the side of the original ones. Thus *Thystleworth* (1428), Index, *Thistleworth*, Camden, I p. 368, seems to have been a usual variant of Isleworth (Mi.) < *Gistelesworde*, D.B. Here *th* is obviously due to confusion between *þ*, *th* and *z*, *y*. Such forms may even ultimately supplant the etymological ones. It is very likely that Jesmond (Nb.) has originated from *Jesmonth*, \**Jesmonde*, *n* being an error for *u*. Cf. § 4.

It has been pointed out quite correctly that in the majority of cases spelling-pronunciations have not originated until comparatively late times when books and the reading of books were coming into more general use. In our opinion the English place-names must to a certain extent be considered as exceptions to this rule. We must keep in mind that a great number of the early documents in which these place-names occur, were drawn up or copied by Normans, who often may have had a very imperfect knowledge of the English language. Under such circumstances the written forms may, particularly in the case of small places, have been invested with more importance than those used by a small number of people living in the place itself. To support this opinion of ours we will adduce some instances where forms due to false orthography seem to have been

in frequent use at a comparatively early date. Nearly all the old spellings of Dyseworth (Le.), *Dichesword* (12 c.), Le. S., *Dicheswrth*, Ch.R.II, *Dychesworth*, H.R., T.N., point to O.E. *dic* as the ground-form. Such early forms as *Digateswrit*, *Digdeswrthia* (1180), *Dythisworth* (1246), Index, *Divvort* (with loss of *þ*), D.B., render it very probable, however, that *ch* is due to confusion between *ch* and *th*. The modern form may be accounted for both ways. — Of particular interest is Sawbridgeworth (Cb.), *Sabrixteworde*, D.B., *Sabrihteswrthe* (1166), R.B. < O.E. *Sæberht*, Searle. Cf. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Ht., p. 57. We account for the modern form in the following way: *t* being lost before *s* gives origin to such forms as *Sabrycheswrth*, H.R., *Sabrichesworth*, Cat. A.D; *ch*, originally a spelling for the palatal spirant in O.E. *beorht*, is now taken to denote (t/), and *Sabriche-* is changed into *Sabrige-* owing to weak stress. Hence *Sabrigeworth* (1428), F.A. The phonetic development is reflected by the local pronunciation (sæpsə). Some more instances are noted under § 10, where the alternative spellings of etymological *-ic*, *-isc* are discussed.

Only a thorough detailed investigation will enable us to realize what a vast and important part spelling has played in the history of English place-names.

Useful references to works in which confusion of letters and similar phenomena have been considered, are given by MORSBACH, Mittelengl. Gramm., p. 28. In addition the following may be mentioned: BERBERICH, Das Herbarium Apuleii (Anglistische Forschungen, 5), p. 7 ff., LUHMANN, Lazamons Brut (Studien zur Engl. Phil, herausg. v. MORSBACH, XXII), p. 42 ff., KELLER, Angelsächsische Paläographie (Palæstra XLIII 1, 2); cf. SCHRÖER, Anglia, Beiblatt XVIII, p. 96 f.

So very little being known about early M.E. spelling, we have often had to make rather long digressions in order to establish what value is to be assigned to the various orthographical symbols. It has often been difficult to find a suitable place for such discussions of spellings. We have tried to relegate them to foot-notes or to appendices after the paragraphs concerned.

It is a great drawback that we have no satisfactory pronouncing-dictionary of English place-names. For want of better we have used: TANGER, Englisches Namen-Lexikon, RIPPmann,

The Sounds of Spoken English, p. 111—119, HOPE, A Glossary of dialectal place-nomenclature (the absence of a phonetic notation considerably lessens the value of this book). A few local pronunciations are also given by A. J. ELLIS in vol. V of Early English Pronunciation.

The system of phonetic notation we have used is, on the whole, the same as that in SWEET'S A Primer of Spoken English (Oxford 1900). The only alterations we have made is that the symbol (v) has been adopted for the sound in *but*, the symbols (ɔ) and (oɔ), respectively, for the short and long sounds in *not* and *all*. The palatal or guttural spirant in O.E. *cniht*, *brohte* has been transcribed with (χ). All phonetic notations are placed between round brackets. Only a few transcriptions borrowed from Ellis' phonetic alphabet have been placed inside square brackets.

4. **Influence of the dialects.** — There is one more question of the greatest importance for place-name study, viz. the influence of the dialects. Here many sound-changes have taken place which have no correspondence whatever in literary English, and such changes may also appear in the names of places. In treating this subject one of our greatest difficulties has been to distinguish properly between the changes which are due to French influence, and those which have originated through dialectal sound-development. Sometimes the chronology may serve as a criterion. If a certain phenomenon nowadays common to various dialects but not evidenced in e.M.E., appears in the place-names of Anglo-Latin records of the 12th and 13th cent., we seem justified in pointing to French influence, supposing the changes in question admit of such an explanation. — Another criterion is the geographical distribution of the forms. Thus, if certain peculiarities confined to a few English dialects have been noted by us in the names of places situated in the most different parts of England, French influence would seem admissible.

More than once we have had to enter into a rather detailed discussion of these questions. Besides numerous M.E. texts quoted separately we have used for this purpose works on e.N.E. and Mod. E. dialects by ELLIS, WRIGHT, HORN, KRUISINGA, FRANZ-

MEYER, GRÜNING etc. Cf. the list of grammars and philological works quoted in this treatise.

**5. Works bearing on the English place-name study in general.** — The best known English works of this kind are: EDMUNDS' *Traces of history in the names of places*, TAYLOR's *Words and Places*, and *Names and their histories*. These books are useful on account of the old forms there recorded. From a philological point of view Edmunds' work is antiquated and of no value. Taylor is more conscientious, though also here too many hap-hazard etymologies and uncritical, often erroneous remarks are to be found.

Monographies exist only for a few counties. Among these we have to note in the first place three works by Prof. SKEAT (*The Place-Names of Cb., Ht., and Bd.*), which may well be said to form a new era in the history of English place-name study. DUIGNAN's *Notes on Staff. Place Names*, and WORC. *Place Names* offer excellent collections of early forms, though we have some doubt as to the correctness of several etymologies given there. A work by STREATFIELD called *Linc. and the Danes* is to be used with great caution for philological purposes.

To some extent we have availed ourselves of the material brought together in the books referred to above. So far as we have been able to ascertain, it has proved quite trustworthy.

**6. Works bearing on the subject of A.N. influence on English place-names.** — Hitherto the influence which A.N. may have exercised on English place-names, has not been made the subject of any serious philological investigations. Only some special question in connection with it has occasionally received some attention. Editors of several early records containing place-names may have pointed out some »curiously corrupted forms», but it has not occurred to many that this corruption may reflect an A.N. adaptation, may be an attempt to express phonetically the various changes which many English place-names necessarily underwent in the speech of the Normans.

In his above-mentioned works on place-names Prof. Skeat has paid due regard to the possibility of French influence. In our opinion he considerably overestimates this influence, and

above all does not seem to make any clear distinction between the changes which are due to dialectal sound-development, and those caused by French influence.

The English place-names in D.B. have been made the subject of a special investigation by STOLZE, *Zur Lautlehre der altengl. Ortsn. im D.B.* This in many respects very meritorious work reveals a considerable defect. The author has evidently not had recourse to the modern D.B. literature, and, consequently, the identifications are not always correct. Sometimes two forms are pointed to as alternative spellings, whereas, in reality, they stand for two distinct places. Here is a typical instance to illustrate these deficiencies. On page 32, Anm., the following forms are adduced to serve as a proof that French *is* was substituted for English *ks*: *Aisse*, *Aisselie*, *-ford*, *-minstre*, *Esseminstre* (Dv.); *Aissa*, *Aixa*, *Aissebrige*, *-ford*, *-cote*, *Aisecome* (Sm.). None of all these examples are conclusive. They are stated to be derived from O.E. *Exan-*, *Exe-*, *Ax-*, but, in reality, *Aisse*, *Aisselie*, *-ford* (Dv.) correspond to the present places Ash, Ashley, Ashford; *Aissa*, *Aixa*, *Aissecote*, *Aisecome* (Sm.) to Ash, Ashcombe, and Ashcot all of them < O.E. *æsc*, Mdf., p. 9. Only *Aisse-*, *Esseminstre*, and *Aisseford* are really due to O.E. *Exe-*. As the spellings *ai*, *ei* often indicate *e* in D.B., we are, however, only justified to conclude that Norman *s* was substituted for English *ks*. Cf. *Essesse* (= Essex): *cesse*, G. le Mar., v. 19007, *Ozenefort* (< O.E. *Oxena-ford*), Wace, v. 12376. Other similar mistakes will be pointed out further on. We may add that such minor shortcomings do not essentially lessen the value of the book, as in most instances at least some of the numerous instances brought together to exemplify various phonetic phenomena are quite to the point.

The purely French word-material in D.B. has been treated by HILDEBRAND in *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.* VIII.

We only know of two more special investigations which have some bearing on our subject, viz. RATHMANN, *Englische Personennamen in Gaimar*, and WESTPHAL, *Englische Ortsn. im Altfranz.* To the latter work there is appended a useful, though by no means exhaustive, list of English place-names from various O. Fr. sources.

7. **Origin and various kinds of the A.N. influence in question**<sup>1</sup>. — Immediately after the Conquest a great number of Frenchmen settled in England, and for more than 200 years there was a steady immigration of fresh crowds attracted by prospective advantages. Most secular posts of any importance were bestowed by William and his immediate successors on Frenchmen, and the whole clergy, of higher and lower rank mainly consisted of Frenchmen. Merchants and artisans of various trades also immigrated, and settled down in different parts of England; cf. VISING, I p. 6 f. In 1154 Norman noblemen were in possession of 1115 fortified English castles. The monasteries and religious houses were filled with French monks of various orders; cf. VISING, I p. 8.

Numerous French-speaking centres having thus originated, it goes without saying that the language of the conquerors must have left some traces in English place-nomenclature. The proud Normans, with all their aversion to the English language, had to pronounce the names of the places they had occupied.

Only a few instances are recorded of an English place-name having been replaced by a new French one. *Sheen* has been superseded by Richmond (TAYLOR, Names, p. 235), *Tateshale*, D.B., by Pontefract (TAYLOR, p. 225), *Lutgaresburg* by Montacute (FREEMAN, V p. 572) etc. »On the whole really new names were confined to really new foundations. A good many castles and abbeys reared by Romance-speaking founders not unnaturally received Romance names»; FREEMAN, *ibid.*

It is much more usual that a French element is added to an English one, which gives origin to hybrid formations, like Oldcastle (Mon.), Newcastle (Nb.), *Neue castelle*, R.Br., v. 250, *Nofchastel sur Tyne*, Langtoft, II p. 192, Castlecombe (Wl.), *Cumbe* (John), Index, Droitwich (Wo.), *Saltwic*, Birch 138, *Wich*, D.B. Cf. DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 53.

Often this element is the name of a Norman family, which mostly is put after the place-name as a separate word, e. g. Stoke Mandeville, Bury Pommeroy, Ashby de la Zouch. More

<sup>1</sup> In working out this section and the following one we have mainly depended on the following works: FREEMAN, *The Norman Conquest* I—V J. VISING, *Franska språket i England* I, II, III (Gothenburg 1900), BEHRENS, *Zur Geschichte der Franz. Sprache in England* (Paul's Gr.).

seldom the English word and the Norman name have coalesced, as in Hurstmonceaux (Ss.) < O.E. *hyrst* + O.Fr. *monceaus* (cf. *Willelmus de Moncells*, D.B., HILDEBRAND, p. 339), Hurstpierpoint (Ss.) < O.E. *hyrst* + O.Fr. *Pierpoint* (still used as a surname, see BARDSLEY'S Dic.), Amport (Ha.), *Anne*, D.B., *Anne Port* (1306), *Anne de Port* (1325), Index (cf. *Hugo de Port*, D.B., HILDEBRAND, p. 341), Bridgewater (Sm.)<sup>1</sup>, *Bruges Walteri* (1227), Ch.R., *Brugeswalteri*, -water, H.R., *Briggewauter* (1346—49), C.R., *Briggewater*, (1401—05), P.R., Gentleshaw (St.), *Gentylshawe* (1505); according to DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 67, in 1341 a person called *John Gentyl* is mentioned as living in the samme parish.

Not unfrequently the A.N. *saint*, which soon took the place of O.E. *sanct*, has been added to a place-name, mostly in connection with the name of a saint. For examples see BARTHOLOMEW'S Gazetteer.

Such forms as *Wicmaret*, *Wivelescomet*, *Estochet*, D.B., *Stoket* (1284), F.A. = Wickmere (Nf.), *Wiveliscombe* (Sm.), *Stoke* (Sm.), seem to instance the addition of the French diminutive suffix *-et*. Cf. *Montamys* (1484), *Montamiset* (1498) = Montamy (Calvados), Dic. Topogr. du Calvados.

The preposition *de d'* frequently used to connect a personal name and a place-name, is sometimes found prefixed to the latter: *Disenhurst* (c. 1270), Selborne Ch. = Ysenhurst (Ha.), *W. de Deverwik* (3 ×), Ramsey Ch. = York. Cf. *Amblainvilla* and *Demblenvilla* (1128) = Damblainville (Calv.), *Aevilla* (1060), *Dyauvilla* (14 c.) = Deauville (Calv.), Dic. Topogr. du Calvados.

Of particular interest are the cases in which the French definite article appears either prefixed to the place-name: *Laiërda*, D.B. = Yard (Dv.), *Lalege*, D.B. = Leigh (Gl.), *Lacherne*, D.B. = Kerne (Ha.), *Ladone*, D.B. = The Down (Ha.), *La Hide*, G. le Mar., v. 15904 = Hyde Abbey (Ha.), *La Kenape*, G. le Mar., v. 15886 = Knepp Castle (Ss.), *La Forde* (1275). Subs. Roll = Lifford (Wo.), *Pole* (1342), *La Pole* (1454) = Lappal (Wo.); or inserted between the two components: *Barton le Street* (Yo.), *Thorpe le Soken* (Es.), *Sutton le Marsh* (Li.) etc.<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> B. was originally called *Brugge* or *Burgh Walter* from the Norman baron to whom the manor was given at the Conquest; cf. BARTH.

<sup>2</sup> This question is best treated in connection with the corresponding use of the article in French place-names. We have gathered some material

As the places of Normandy often contain elements from various Germanic dialects, English place-names are sometimes remodelled after the pattern of such or other well-known forms. Norman *-tot* and *-mare* corresponding to O.E. *-toft* and *-mere*, we sometimes find the former substituted for the latter: *Wicmara*, D.B. = Wickmere (Nf.), *Slidemare*, *Ledemare*, D.B. = Sledmere (Yo.), *Hotot*, *-toft*, D.B. = Huttoft (Li.), *Langetot*, *Stouwelangetot* (13 c., 14 c.), Index = Stowlangtoft (Sf.), *Wilgetot*, D.B. = Willitoft (Yo.). Such forms are explained in a different manner by JELLINGHAUS, *Anglia* XX, p. 325 (*tot* a dialectal variant of *toft*) and STOLZE, p. 16 (*mare* for *mere* owing to Scand. influence). We believe our explanation to be the correct one. The irregular forms of the above-mentioned places hardly appear except in D.B. All later records we have consulted, have *-toft* and *-mere*. The only place for which the forms in *-tot* have been kept somewhat longer, is Stowlangtoft, which may have been the seat of an old Norman family, there being a manor-house in its immediate neighbourhood. — Westminster appears in Wace and Fantosme as *Westmostier*, *·mustier*; cf. WESTPHAL, Index. To O.E. *mynster* corresponds O.Fr. *moustier*. — Pleshy (Es.), formerly *Plesincho*, D.B., *Plesingho*, T.N., F.A., seems to have been transformed on the analogy of numerous French place-names in *ei* < *etum*. Cf. such Latinized forms as *Plesseto*, H.R., *Plessetum* (1408), Index<sup>1</sup>.

From the above-mentioned cases we have to keep apart such arbitrary alterations as Beauxfield for Whitfield (Ke.) *Beausfeld* (Hen. III.) Index, or Belleau (Li.) for *Elgelo*, D.B. Here the first English element has been replaced by the very usual French place-name component *beau*, *bel*.

A few times attempts have been made at translating English place-names into French: *Chef de Bede*, Gaimar, v.

for a special investigation into the subject. POGATSCHER, *Anglia*, Beiblatt XVIII, p. 105, is of opinion that *le*, when inserted between two Engl. place-name components, is a remainder of the French preposition *lez*. His theory does not seem to be substantiated by the early spellings. We must keep in mind that, though *lez* sometimes may serve to connect two French place-name components, a noun preceded by the article *le*, *la* is also often added to a place-name, as it would seem, to distinguish the place in question from others with the same name. Cf. such early forms as *Fresneium la Mere* (12 c.) = Fresné-la-Mère (Calv.), Dic. Top. du Calvados.

<sup>1</sup> Remains of an ancient castle witness to Norman settlement; BARTH.

1416 < O.E. *Badanheafod*, A.S. Chr., *Grandham*, D.B. = Greet-ham (Li.)

We will, however, not enter into a detailed discussion of all these interesting phenomena, our main object being to account only for such changes in English place-names as are due to differences between English and Anglo-Norman phonology.

7. Victory of A.N. forms. The causes. — For a period of more than 300 years French was the official language in England, understood and spoken not only by the Normans and the French, but also by the more refined among the English; cf. *VISING*, I p. 19. We are justified in assuming that at least for the whole of this time double forms existed of many English place-names, one of them purely English, the other exhibiting A.N. peculiarities. From being used originally only by the Normans, the latter might in course of time easily have been adopted by the English themselves.

Such forms may also have exercised a mutual influence on each other. Indeed, in one or two cases it seems as if an A.N. form has given origin to a corresponding English one. Cf. § 5 Appendix.

Some of the French forms were merely transitory, as *Nicole* for Lincoln, others, like *Londres* for London, were only used by the French themselves, but not unfrequently the English forms have been replaced by the French.

No doubt, the supremacy of French as the language of the conquerors has been the principal cause of this victory. Whereas English was looked down upon as an inferior language (cf. the often quoted passage from R.Gl., *PAUL'S GR.*, p. 951), French was highly appreciated. This does not surprise us when we consider that it was spoken by the men of the highest rank in the country.

With reference to place-names it has already been pointed out that, may-be, a faulty pronunciation used by people in a higher position and on a higher cultural level, may easily be adopted by the inhabitants of the place itself. *Zinal* and *Za* (Wallis), in which *z* signifies a local pronunciation *ts*, are naturally pronounced with voiced *s* by the French and, being situated on French territory, also by many German tourists, and this

pronunciation is now coming into use even among the natives. See MEYER-LÜBKE, *Einführung in das Studium der Roman. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 193.

It is principally where large places are concerned, which have played an important ecclesiastical or political part, and in the population of which the A.N. element certainly was very well represented, that the French forms have been victorious. When the same has been the case with smaller places, this may often be traced back to the fact that a Norman castle, monastery, or manor-house was situated in the immediate neighbourhood. There were a great many religious houses in England, and as late as 1252 French and Latin were often the only languages known by the monks. Cf. VISING, I p. 7, 9, II p. 8. Thus our theories are sometimes supported by historical evidence.

Lastly, we will draw attention to one more circumstance which certainly has contributed not a little to the victory of the Anglo-Norman forms. »At the time of the Norman invasion of England the practice of hereditary surnames seems still to have been a novelty, but a novelty which was fast taking root. The members of the great Norman houses already bore surnames, sometimes territorial, sometimes patronymic, of which the former class became hereditary»; FREEMAN, V p. 565. This custom the Normans brought over with them to England, where it soon spread rapidly; Vising, I p. 20. Many Norman noble families were named after the place where they had their landed property. Cf. *Gislebert de Cliva*, D.B., HILDEBRAND, p. 346. = Mod. E. Clive < O.E. *clif*. It is evident that such place-names used as surnames by the Normans were developed according to French sound-laws, and in some cases the pronunciation of the name may also have been transferred to that of the place.

9. **Plan of the treatise.** — We have thought it suitable to divide our treatise into two parts, according to the different nature of the phenomena we have to deal with.

I. **Changes in English place-names due to Anglo-Norman sound-substitution.** An English sound or group of sounds was, generally or in a certain position, absolutely unknown to the Normans, and was, consequently, altered in one

way or another to suit A.N. pronunciation. Changes of this kind took place, of course, immediately after the Norman invasion.

**II. Changes in English place-names due to Anglo-Norman sound-development.** The A.N. dialect was, naturally, in a state of continual development. At the time of the Conquest sound-laws were acting and continued to act within it, and others made their appearance during the period of more than three hundred years when A.N. was spoken in England. It is evident that numerous English place-names used by the Normans in the written and spoken language should be subjected to changes caused by those sound-laws.

As to the treatment of the various paragraphs we have not thought it advisable to lay down any hard and fixed rules always to be observed. The phenomena we have to deal with involving manifold and dissimilar problems, we have striven to obtain the best results by adopting what in every special case seems to be the best method of treating the various matters in hand.

**Note.** It was our original idea to devote a special chapter to some changes in the pronunciation of English place-names which are due to A.N. orthography. Considerations of time and space have made us desist from this intention of ours. We will content ourselves with giving a few examples here. In rendering English sounds the Normans sometimes used symbols which easily might give rise to misinterpretations. Thus O.E. *u* is often rendered by *o*. Cf. SWEET, N.E.Gr., § 775. If *o* was kept in orthography, this might lead to a spelling pronunciation (o) for (u, u). To the examples adduced by Koepfel, Spelling-pron., the following may be added: Lolworth (Cb.), pron. (louə). I am indebted for the local pronunciation to the vicar of the parish. Old forms are *Lolesuorde*, D.B., *Lulleworth* (1284), F.A.; cf. O.E. *Lulleswyrð*, Kemble 714. Rotherhithe (Sr.), pron. (rəðərɪθ), Tanger. On the etymology cf. Koepfel, p. 56. Compton (Gl. etc.) pron. (kəmtən), Tanger; cf. O.E. *Cumtun*, *Cumtun*, Thorpe. Combermere (Wo.), pron. (kəmbəmiə), Tanger; cf. Comberton (Wo.) < O. E. *Cumbrincgtun*, Birch 1282. Cromwell (Nt.), *Crumwelle* D.B., *Crumbwell*, *Crombewell*, F.A. At least the surname is nowadays pronounced with (ɔ)<sup>1</sup>. The Cavaliers' toast: — 'Wash this crumb

<sup>1</sup> According to Hope, Cromwell (Nt.) is dialectally pronounced 'Crummil'. Mr. Fuhrken has kindly pointed out to me that the pers. name Cromwell is still sometimes pron. with (v), and that the current pron. of Combermere is (kəmbəmiə) not (kəmbəmiə), as stated by Tanger.

well down' (cf. BARDSLEY, *Dic.*, p. 218), enables us to conclude that the present pronunciation had not yet arisen at the time of the famous English statesman. In Bodley, Bodleian, pron. (bɒdlɪ, bɒdlɪən), an instance is offered of spelling-pron. having been introduced into the personal name, whereas the corresponding locality, Budleigh (Dv.) exhibits the historically correct spelling and pron.

**10. Arrangement of the material.** — The material of the old forms we have collected has been brought together in lists at the head of the different paragraphs. In drawing up these lists we have proceeded in the following way. The various records we have used are arranged chronologically<sup>1</sup>. Records of one and the same century are given in alphabetical order. Old forms of place-names taken from the same document are arranged alphabetically according to counties. The figures at the top refer to the Mod. and O.E. forms, which always head the lists.

When from various reasons examples of place-names are adduced in the text itself the forms meant to illustrate a certain sound-change are generally given first, then the present name of the place, and lastly a few references to early regular forms. All the early spellings both of place-names and of ordinary words have been printed in italics.

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<sup>1</sup> As it would have been impossible to ascertain the exact date of the MSS. of all the works we have consulted, we have had to base the chronology on the date of the originals. The age of many MSS. is, however, stated in the list of works consulted preceding the Introduction.

# I. Changes in English place-names due to Anglo-Norman sound-substitution.

## § 1. Anglo-Norman (ts) is substituted for English (tf).

### A. In initial position.

#### 1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.*

a. In place-names containing O.E. *cester*, *ceaste*, *cæster*<sup>1</sup>. 1. Exeter (Dv.) < O.E. *Exanceaster*, A.S. Chr. 2. Frocester with F. Court (Gl.). 3. Cirencester (Gl.) < O.E. *Cirenceaster*, A.S. Chr. 4. Gloucester (Gl.) < O.E. *Glowe*, *Gleawcester*, A.S. Chr. 5. Leicester (Le.) < O.E. *Ligeraceaster*, A.S. Chr. 6. Craster (Nb.). 7. Towcester (Np.) < O.E. *Tofeceaster*, A.S. Chr. 8. Bicester (Ox.). 9. Wroxeter (Sh.). 10. Rocester (St.). 11. Alcester (Wa.). 12. Mancetter or Mancester (Wa.). 13. Worcester (Wo.) < O.E. *Wigraceaster*, A.S. Chr.

D.B. *Execestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Frowcestre*<sup>2</sup>, *Cirecestre*<sup>3</sup>, *Glouuecestre*<sup>4</sup>, *Ledecestre*<sup>5</sup>, *Bernecestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Rochecestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Rowecestre*<sup>10</sup>, *Wirecestre*<sup>13</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Circestria*<sup>3</sup> (1149), *Gloecestria*<sup>4</sup> (1130). Pi.R. *Legrecestre*<sup>5</sup> (1131), *Leicester*<sup>5</sup> (1155).

13th c. — C.R. *Leicester*<sup>5</sup>, *Towcester*<sup>7</sup>, *Alencesire*<sup>11</sup> (31—34). Ch.R. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup> (1242). F.A. *Leycestrie*<sup>5</sup>. Proclamation of Henry III. 1258

<sup>1</sup> Nearly all M.E. forms of O.E. *cester*, *ceaster*, *cæster* exhibit *e* in the root-syllable. This *e* was in O.E. confined to Mercian and l. West-Saxon. Cf. BULBRING § 314. M.E. *e* instead of *a* may sometimes be due to weak stress (thus MORSBACH, Urkunden, p.52 f.) or even to the analogy of the numerous forms where *e* is the regular development. Laȝamon has several instances of *æ*, *a* as well, but it is very difficult to decide which was the reading of the original, as in the text *æ*, *a* not unfrequently occur for *e* < O.E. *ĕ*. *Chastre*, R.Gl. (= Chester), *Chastrefeld*, *Chasterfeld*, Index (= Chesterfield Db., St.) may go back to O.E. *ceaster*, *cæster*, though, on the other hand, association with O.Fr. *chastre* < Lat. *castra* is not excluded; confusion with O.Fr. *chastel* is indisputable in *Chastelfield* (= Chesterfield, Db.), R.Gl.

(in Kluge, *Mittelengl. Lesebuch*, p. 25). *Gloucestre*<sup>4</sup>, *Leirchestre*<sup>5</sup>, *Wirechestre*<sup>18</sup>. MS. Jesus Coll. Oxford (O.E. Miscellany, Early E. Text Soc. 49). *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Gloucestreschire*<sup>4</sup>, *Leycestreschire*<sup>5</sup>, *Wirecestre*<sup>18</sup>. *Lazamon*. *Æxecheastre*<sup>1</sup> A, *Excestre*<sup>1</sup> B, v. 9755, *Excestre*<sup>1</sup> A, v. 31112, *Axcetre*<sup>1</sup> A, v. 30865, *Cherinchestre*<sup>3</sup> A, v. 29112, *Chirenchestre*<sup>3</sup> A, v. 29122, *Chirchestre*<sup>3</sup> A, v. 29205, *Gloichestre*<sup>4</sup> A, *Gloucestre*<sup>4</sup> B, v. 9629, *Gleochæstre*<sup>4</sup> A, *Gloucestre*<sup>4</sup> B, v. 10429, *Gloucestre*<sup>4</sup> A, v. 27206, *Leirchestre*<sup>5</sup> A, *Leycetre*<sup>5</sup> B, v. 2915, *Leirchestre*<sup>5</sup> A, *Leycestre*<sup>5</sup> B, v. 24346, *Leycestre*<sup>5</sup> A, v. 27272. P.R. *Cyrencestre*<sup>3</sup>, *Gloucester*<sup>4</sup> (32—47), *Leircestre*<sup>5</sup> (16—25), *Toucestre*<sup>7</sup> (01—16), *Worcester*<sup>13</sup> (32—47). R.Gl. *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Gloucestre*<sup>4</sup>, *Gloucetre*<sup>4</sup>, *Leycester*<sup>5</sup>, *Leicetre*<sup>5</sup>, *Worcestre*<sup>18</sup>, *Wirecestre*<sup>18</sup>, *Wirecestre*<sup>18</sup> (for references to line and page see the Index to Wright's ed.). T.N. *Crancestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Toucestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Bernecestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Alencestre*<sup>11</sup>, *Manecestre*<sup>12</sup>. Tax.Eccl. *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Cirencestre*<sup>3</sup>, *Leicetre*<sup>5</sup>, *Towecestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Wrokcestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Aliceastre*<sup>11</sup> *Mancestre*<sup>12</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup>, *Cirencester*<sup>3</sup>, *Gloucester*<sup>4</sup>, *Leicester*<sup>5</sup>, (07—13), *Wroxcestre*<sup>9</sup> (46—49), *Worcester*<sup>13</sup> (07—13). F.A. *Frowcester*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Leicester*<sup>5</sup> (1316), *Craucestre*<sup>6</sup> (1346), *Wroccestre*<sup>9</sup> (1316). Index. *Gloucetre*<sup>4</sup> (1374). P.R. *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Cirencester*<sup>3</sup>, *Gloucester*<sup>4</sup>, *Leicester*<sup>5</sup> (91—96), *Wroxcestre*<sup>9</sup> (46—49), *Wirecestre*<sup>13</sup> (91—96).

15th c. — Capgrave. *Excestre*<sup>1</sup>, *Excetir*<sup>1</sup>, p. 122, p. 129, *Cicetir*<sup>3</sup>, p. 275, *Glouceter*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 136, 147, *Leicester*<sup>5</sup>, p. 100, *Leycetir*<sup>5</sup>, pp. 118, 157, *Wyscetir*<sup>13</sup>, p. 281, *Wycetir*<sup>13</sup>, p. 292. F.A. *Leycestre*<sup>5</sup> (1428), *Craucestre*<sup>6</sup> (1428). I.P.M. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup> (Hen. VII.), *Bursester*<sup>8</sup> (Hen. VI.), *Burencestre*<sup>8</sup> (1485), *Bysseter*<sup>8</sup> (1495).

16th c. — V.E. *Frowceter*<sup>2</sup>, *Cirincester*, *-cetre*<sup>3</sup>, *Gloucester*, *-ceter*<sup>4</sup>, *Glociter*<sup>4</sup>, *Glocitershire*<sup>4</sup>, *Leicester*, *-ceter*<sup>5</sup>, *Biscyter*<sup>8</sup>, *Wroxcester*, *-cetour*<sup>9</sup>, *Wroxter*<sup>9</sup>, *Rocettr*<sup>10</sup>, *Mancettur*<sup>12</sup>, *Worcestre*, *-ceter*<sup>13</sup>.

b. In other cases. 1. Cippenham (Bu.). Cf. Chippenham and Chipping, where, according to Tanger, *ch* is pronounced (tʃ). 2. Cerne Abbas, Nether and Upper Cerne (Do.). 3. Cirencester (Gl.) < O.E. *Ciren*-, *Cyren*-, *Cyrnceaster*, A.S. Chr. 4. North and South Cerney, Cerney Wick (Gl.)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cerne, Cirencester, and Cerney may all of them contain O.E. *ciren*, which seems to have been a not uncommon name of rivers in the West of England. There are three rivers the names of which may be derived from *ciren*: (1) Churne < O.E. *Cirnea*, Kemble, in Glouc, on which are situated Cirencester, N. and S. Cerney, and Cerney Wick; all these places have probably been named after the river; (2) Cerne in Dors., on which we note Cerne Abbas, Nether and Upper Cerne; (3) Churnet and Churnet Valley, *Chirnete* (1284) (see DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 40) in Chesh. — The ultimate source of O.E. *ciren* is obscure. Like the names of so many other English rivers it may be of Celtic origin. POGATSCHER, Lateinische Lehnwörter, p. 125, derives the first element of *Cirenceaster* from Lat. *Corinium*. This

- D.B. *Cerne*<sup>2</sup>, *Cernel*<sup>3</sup>, *Cerneli*<sup>2</sup>, *Obcerne*<sup>3</sup>, *Cirecestre*<sup>3</sup>, *Cernei*<sup>4</sup>.  
 12th c. — A.S. Chr. *Cernel*<sup>2</sup> (1114), MS.H. Bruton and Mont. Ch. (*tres*) *Cernels*<sup>3</sup>. Index. *Circestria*<sup>3</sup>. Pi.R. *Cerna*<sup>2</sup> (1131), *Cerne*<sup>2</sup> (1189).  
 13th c. — H.R. Chippenham<sup>1</sup>, *Cirincestre*<sup>3</sup>. La<sup>3</sup>amon. *Cernele*<sup>2</sup> A, v. 29674, *Cherinchestre*<sup>3</sup> A, v. 29112, *Chirchestre*<sup>3</sup> A, v. 29205. P.R. *Cippenham*<sup>1</sup> (16—25). T.N. *Cern*<sup>2</sup>, *Cernay*<sup>4</sup>. Tax. Eccl. *Cerne*<sup>1</sup>, *Cirencester*<sup>3</sup>.  
 14th c. — C.R. *Cippenham*<sup>1</sup> (46—49), *Cirencester*<sup>3</sup> (07—13). F.A. *Southserney*<sup>4</sup> (1303), *Southcerney*<sup>4</sup> (1316, 46), *Northcerney*<sup>4</sup> (1303, 16, 46). Index. *Upcerne*<sup>3</sup> (1379). P.R. *Sippenham*<sup>1</sup> (48—50).  
 15th c. — Capgrave. *Cicetir*<sup>3</sup>, p. 275. I.P.M. *Cerne*<sup>2</sup> (1487). Index. *Syppenham*<sup>1</sup> (1429).

## 2. The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.

a. In place-names containing O.E. *cester*, *ceaster*, *cæster*. 1. *Chesham* (Bu.). 2. *Chesterton* (Cb.) 3. *Chester* (Ch.) < O.E. *Ceaster*, A.S. Chr. 4. *Chesterfield* (Db.). 5. *Dorchester* (Do.) < O.E. *dornuuarana ceaster*, Kent. Chart., Sweet, O.E.T., p. 434. 6. *Lanchester* (Du.). 7. *Colchester* (Es.) < O.E. *Colneceaster*, A.S. Chr. 8. *Woodchester* (Gl.). 9. *Winchester* (Ha.) < O.E. *Wintanceaster*, A.S. Chr. 10. *Silchester* (Ha.). 11. *Porchester* (Ha.). 12. *Cheshunt* (Ht.). 13. *Godmanchester* (Hu.). 14. *Rochester* (Ke.) < O.E. *Hrofesceaster*, A.S. Chr. 15. *Manchester* (La.) < O.E. *Mameceaster*, A.S. Chr. 16. *Ribchester* (La.). 17. *Irchester* (Np.). 18. *Dorchester* (Ox.) < O.E. *Dorceceaster*, A.S. Chr. 19. *Ilchester* (Sm.). 20. *Chichester* (Ss.) < O.E. *Cisseceaster*, A.S. Chr.

- D.B. *Cestreham*<sup>1</sup>, *Cestretone*<sup>3</sup>, *Cestre*<sup>3</sup>, *Dorecestre*<sup>5</sup>, *Colecestra*<sup>7</sup>, *Widecestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Udecestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Silcestre*<sup>10</sup>, *Portcestre*<sup>11</sup>, *Cestrehunt*<sup>12</sup>, *Rovecestre*<sup>14</sup>, *Mamecestre*<sup>15</sup>, *Ribelcastre*<sup>16</sup>, *Dorchecestre*<sup>18</sup>, *Cicestre*<sup>20</sup>.  
 12th c. — Index. *Cestreunt*<sup>12</sup>, *Cestrehont*<sup>12</sup>, *Cestrehunt*<sup>12</sup>, *Gutmuncetre*<sup>13</sup> (46—54), *Gumcestria*<sup>13</sup> (1194).  
 13th c. — C.R. *Cestrefeld*<sup>4</sup>, *Cilcestre*<sup>10</sup>, *Porcestre*<sup>11</sup>, *Mamecestre*<sup>15</sup>, *Cycestre*<sup>20</sup> (31—34). Ch.R. *Cestresham*<sup>1</sup> (1257), *Langecestre*<sup>6</sup> (1292), *Colecestria*<sup>7</sup> (1255). F.A. *Irencestre*<sup>17</sup> (1284). H.R. *Cestresham*<sup>1</sup>, *Dorcecestre*<sup>5</sup>, *Colcestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Colcetre*<sup>7</sup>, *Cestrehonte*<sup>12</sup>, *Gomcestre*<sup>13</sup>, *Irencestre*<sup>17</sup>, *Dorkecestre*<sup>18</sup>, *Cycestre*<sup>20</sup>. La<sup>3</sup>amon. *Winchestre*<sup>9</sup> A, B, v. 2819, *Winchæstre*<sup>9</sup> A, v. 9431, *Portchæstre*<sup>11</sup> A, *Portcastre*<sup>11</sup> B, v. 9234. P.R. *Colecestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Winchester*<sup>9</sup>, *Porcestre*, *-chestre*<sup>11</sup> (32—47), *Gomecestre*<sup>13</sup>, *Gurmecestre*<sup>18</sup> (81—92), *Mamecestre*<sup>15</sup> (25—32), *Maumecestre*<sup>13</sup> (72—81), *Rybecestre*<sup>16</sup>, *Ivelcestre*<sup>19</sup>, *Cycestre*<sup>20</sup> (32—47). R.B.

etymology is by no means certain. Cf. FORBIGER, Handbuch der alten Geogr. III, p. 289. *Corinium* would, besides, have given O.E. *cyren* with a guttural *k*. In Anglia XXXI, p. 272, POGATSCHER accounts for *s* as due to spelling-pron. This explanation seems to us very unsatisfactory. The *ch*-forms in La<sup>3</sup>amon indicate that in M.E. a pron. with (tʃ) existed by the side of the present one, where *s*, no doubt, is due to French influence.

*Cestreton*<sup>2</sup> (1210), *Cestrehunte*<sup>12</sup>. R.Gl. *Chastre*<sup>2</sup>, *Chastelfield*<sup>4</sup>, *Golchester*<sup>7</sup>, *Winchestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Wincetre*<sup>9</sup>, *Winchetre*<sup>9</sup>, *Wincestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Cilicestre*<sup>10</sup>, *Rouchester*<sup>14</sup>, *Roucestre*<sup>14</sup>, *Roucetre*<sup>14</sup>, *Chichestre*<sup>20</sup>, *Cicestre*<sup>20</sup>, *Cicetre*<sup>20</sup>. T.N. *Cestresham*<sup>1</sup>, *Colecestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Wodecestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Porcestre*<sup>11</sup>, *Mamecestre*<sup>15</sup>, *Irecestre*<sup>17</sup>, *Dorkecestre*<sup>18</sup>. Tax. Eccl. *Cestrefeud*<sup>4</sup>, *Colecestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Colechestre*<sup>7</sup>, *Porcestre*<sup>11</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Silchestre*<sup>10</sup>, *Cilcestre*<sup>10</sup> (46—49). F.A. *Chesham*<sup>1</sup> (1302), *Wodecestre*<sup>8</sup> (1303, 46), *Gurmencestre*<sup>18</sup> (1346), *Roucestre*, *-chestre*<sup>14</sup> (1346), *Ireencestre*<sup>17</sup> (1316). Index. *Cestre*<sup>8</sup> (1331), *Cestrefeld*<sup>4</sup> (1306), *Chestrefeld*<sup>4</sup> (1384), *Rouceste*<sup>14</sup> (1326). P.R. *Langecestre*<sup>8</sup> (1399—1401), *Gummecestre*<sup>13</sup> (21—24), *Gurmundchestre*<sup>13</sup> (43—45), *Manichestre*<sup>15</sup>, *Mamcestre*<sup>15</sup> (91—96). R.Br. *Chester*<sup>3</sup>, p. 19, *Chestrefeld*<sup>4</sup>, p. 223, *Wynchester*<sup>9</sup>, p. 19, *Wincester*<sup>9</sup>, p. 121.

15th c. — Capgrave. *Chester*<sup>2</sup>, p. 133, *Winchester*<sup>9</sup>, p. 109, *Rouchester*<sup>14</sup>, p. 214, *Chichester*<sup>20</sup>, p. 187. F.A. *Cesthunte*<sup>12</sup> (1402), *Roucheestre*<sup>14</sup> (1404), *Ireencestre*<sup>17</sup> (1428). I.P.M. *Dorchester*<sup>18</sup> (1486). P.R. *Godmuncestre*<sup>13</sup> (22—29).

16th c. — V.E. *Lanchestre*<sup>8</sup>, *Wodchester*<sup>8</sup>, *Winchestre*<sup>9</sup>, *Dorchester*<sup>18</sup>, (*hundred de*) *Dorcestre*<sup>18</sup>.

b. In other cases. Any number of instances might be adduced. We refer to the discussion on the proportion between the English and French forms on p. 28 below.

## B. In medial position.

### 1. The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.

1. Messing (Es.). Cf. O.E. (*ge*)*mæcca*, also used as a personal name, Mdf., p. 91. 2. Whissonsett (Nf.)? < O.E. *wice*, Mdf., p. 150. Cf. Whitchingham (Nf.), *Witcingeham*, D.B., *Wychingham*, H.R., *Witchingham*, F.A.

D.B. *Matcinga*<sup>1</sup>, *Witcingkeseta*<sup>2</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Messing*<sup>1</sup> (88—96). Ch.R. *Wissingeset*<sup>2</sup>, *Wilsingesete*<sup>2</sup> II. H.R. *Wychingsete*<sup>2</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Messing*<sup>1</sup>. P.R. *Wyssingsete*<sup>2</sup> (27—30).

15th c. — I.P.M. *Wyssyngset*<sup>2</sup> (Hen. VII.). P.R. *Messyngne*<sup>1</sup> (1401—05).

### 2. The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.

1. Matching (Es.). 2. Latchingdon (Es.). 3. Fletching (Ke.). 4. Bletchingley (Sr.). Cf. O.E. *Blæcca*, Searle, *Bleccingdenn*, Thorpe = Blatchingdon (Ke.).

D.R. *Matcinga*<sup>1</sup>, *Lacen*, *Lachenduna*<sup>2</sup>, *Flescinges*<sup>3</sup>, *Blachingelei*<sup>4</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Machinge*<sup>1</sup> (72—79), *Flechyng*<sup>8</sup> (72—79), *Blechingeligh*<sup>4</sup> (72—79), *Blessingleye*<sup>4</sup> (88—96). Ch.R. *Fletching*<sup>8</sup> (1252), *Blescingeleye*<sup>4</sup> II. H.R. *Flessing*<sup>8</sup>. Index. *Blechynglie*<sup>4</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Massing*<sup>1</sup>, *Maching*<sup>1</sup>, *Lacindon*<sup>2</sup> (1303). Index. *Blechynglie*<sup>4</sup>.

C. In final position after *i*.1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.*

1. Chatteris (Cb.). It is hard to find any suitable etymology of this word. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 69, suggests it was originally a river-name in *-ic*. 2. Hiz, a small river in Ht. Cf. *hundert de Hiz* in the D.B. of Ht.<sup>1</sup> The genuine English form appears in Hichin and Hichin Priory, situated on the Hiz. Of these places we have noted some early spelling, like *Hiche* (1210, 1303), R.B., Index, *Hechyn* (1541) Index. 3. Diss (Nf.)? < O.E. *dic*.

- D.B. *Cetriz*<sup>1</sup>, *Dice*<sup>3</sup>.  
 12th c. — I.C.C. *Chateriz*<sup>1</sup>, *Chatriz*<sup>1</sup>. I.El. *Catriz*<sup>1</sup>, *Cetriz*<sup>1</sup>, *Cateriz*<sup>1</sup>, *Dicse*<sup>3</sup>.  
 Index. *Cateriz*<sup>1</sup> (1177).  
 13th c. — Ramsey Ch. *Chaterik*<sup>1</sup>, *Cæateric*<sup>1</sup>, *Chateric*<sup>1</sup>, *Ceatrice*<sup>1</sup>. T.N. *Disce*<sup>3</sup>.  
 14th c. — Index. *Chateriz*<sup>1</sup>.

2. *The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.*

1. Greenwich (Ke.) < O.E. *wīc*. 2. Woolwich (Ke.). 3. Harwich (Nf.). 4. Norwich (Nf.) < O.E. *Norþwic*, A.S. Chr. 5. Launditch Hundred (Nf.) < O.E. *dic*. 6. Ipswich (Ox.). 7. Combwich (Sm.). 8. Evercreech (Sm.). 9. Chadlewich (Wa.).

- D.B. *Grenviz*<sup>1</sup>, *Hulviz*<sup>2</sup>, *Commiz*<sup>1</sup>, *Eurecriz*<sup>8</sup>.  
 12th c. — Index. *Chadeleswiz*<sup>9</sup> (John). Pi.R. *Gippeswiz*<sup>6</sup> (1157).  
 13th c. — Ch.R. *Gyppevych*<sup>6</sup> II. F.A. *Wolwyz*<sup>2</sup> (1284). H.R. *Laundiz*<sup>5</sup>, *Gyppewiz*, *-wice*<sup>6</sup>. Index. *Herewiz*<sup>3</sup>, *Norewiz*<sup>4</sup>.  
 14th c. — F.A. *Wolewych*<sup>2</sup> (1346), *Laundiz*<sup>5</sup> (1302), *Landich*<sup>5</sup> (1316), *Laundich*<sup>5</sup> (1346).

At a very early period in the life of the English language (k) under certain circumstances was fronted, and, at least in the South of England, further developed to (tʃ), about the same sound as in Mod. English *church*. Cf. SIEVERS § 206; BÜLBRING § 491 ff. Although original (k) had developed into two different sounds, the same orthographical symbol *c* was mostly used for both of them, and, consequently, in initial, medial, and final position might have the value of (tʃ).

Latin (k) was also fronted in some parts of the Romance linguistic territory, at different times before different vowels. As

<sup>1</sup> SKEAT, Pl.-Ns of Ht., p. 63, remarks that the present name of the river may be due to an artificial revival of the old Domesday form. Whether this is true or not can be ascertained only by an examination of a sufficient number of early spellings.

regards (k) before *a*, two districts are to be distinguished in Normandy. In the North along the Channel (k) was kept, whereas in the South just as in Central French it became (t/), and this stage had already been reached at the time of the Norman Conquest. Cf. K. BEETZ, *C und Ch vor lateinischem A in altfranz. Texten* (Diss. Strassburg 1887), p. 67 f.; MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm. I* § 410 f.

Before *e* and *i* the fronting of (k) had begun at a much earlier date, but varies in its results. It appears from loan-words and other criteria that in the 11th cent. (t/) was prevalent in the North-East of France, (ts) in other parts. Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm. I* §§ 406 f. That Normandy belonged to the district where (k) had become (ts), is clearly indicated not only by the orthography of e. A.N. MSS., but also by the phonology of the French loan-words in English. Most early instances exhibit *ce*, *ci*; the few with *che*, *chi* in Modern English are almost all of later introduction. Cf. BEHRENS, p. 185.

As to the various ways in which the sounds (k), (t/), and (ts) are orthographically represented in the English and French MSS. of the 12th cent. and later, cf. Appendix A.

The comparison we have made between the development of original (k) in O.E. and O.Fr., results in the fact that in the English of the 11th cent. (k) and (t/) appear for original (k), whereas A.N. has three sounds, i. e. (k), (t/), (ts). Now, it seems very plausible that the Normans to whom (t/) was quite a well-known sound, should have kept it in all positions, but this has by no means been the case. There must, indeed, have been a great acoustic resemblance between (ts) and (t/), and, in fact, English (t/) is rendered by the Normans sometimes with one, sometimes with the other. English (t/) seems to have been kept only in positions where it occurred in Norman too; on the other hand, (ts) was substituted for it in such positions and before such vowels where (ts) only occurred, or was at any rate prevalent in the Norman dialect itself. This whole procedure of substitution may be characterized as a tendency to bring the phonology of the English words in accordance with the Norman vocabulary.

In the following discussion we have, consequently, to distinguish between (t/) in initial, medial, and final position and, at the same

time, take due regard to the vowel which follows immediately after (t/).

### A. (t/) in initial position.

#### 1. (t/) is followed by æ.

As to the A.N. way of rendering English (t/æ) < *cea*, *cæ* there are two possibilities to be taken into account. O.E. *æ*, which was something between Norman short open *e* and *a*, has either been taken for *e*, in which case (ts) was probably substituted for (t/), or it has been identified with *a*. If so, the same interchange of *c* = (k) and *ch* = (t/) sets in which we have already observed in the Norman dialect itself. *ca* instead of *cha* in South English place-names cannot be due to native development for — with the single exception of *cea* before *l* + consonant — the assimilation had taken place in the whole Southern part of England. Cf. RITTER, *Die Verteilung der ch- und k-formen im Mittlengl.* (Diss. Marburg 1904), p. 21, p. 80.

We have chosen the following examples from D.B. to illustrate the first possibility, A.N. *ce* < O.E. *cæ*: *Cetrix* = Chatteris (Cb.), *Cedeslai* = Chaddesley (Wo.) < O.E. *Ceaddesleage*, Birch 357, *Celdric* (with *ld* for *dl*) D.B. = Chadwich (Wo.), *Chadeleswich*, *Chaddewyke* (13 c.) (cf. DUIGNAN, *Wo. Pl.Ns.*, p. 35) < O.E. *Ceadwealla* Searle.

On the other hand the same interchange as in French *Cartrai*, *Chartreia*, *Kartrai*, D.B.<sup>1</sup> (cf. HILDEBRAND, p. 333), appears in *Kagefort*, Exon. D.B., *Chageford*, Exch.D.B. = Chagford (Dv.), *Chage*, *Chaghford*, F.A. < O.E. *cea(c)ge*, Mdf., p. 25, N.E. dial. *chag*, a branch of broom or gorse (E.D.D.), and *Chadeledona*, Exon D.B., *Cadeledone*, Exch. D.B. = Cheldon (Dv.) < O.E. *Ceadwealla*, Searle. *ca* for *cha*, and vice-versa, is also to be found in later documents. Chatteris appears as *Catritz*, *Chateriz* in the I.El., *Catareio* and *Chateriz* in the I.C.C. The Index has *Cateriz* (1177). Catshill (Sr.) is *Chatishille* (1131) and *Cateshella* (1141), Index. In Wace we have noted *Chatenois*, v. 2365 = Caithness (Scotland), *Chantorbire*, v. 4079 = Canterbury. The same interchange appears even before *a* (French alteration!) < Kentish *e* < *y* in

<sup>1</sup> For other similar instances in Norman place-names cf. JORET, p. 139.

*Cameshing*, *Chamsesinges*, R.B. = Kemsing (Ke.) < O.E. *Cymesinc* (a. 822), Index; after *s* in *Escardeburg*, *Eschardeburg*, Ch.R. I = Scarborough (Yo.). It is worthy of note that M.E. *carl* in Gaimar appears as *carles*, *charles*, v. 5486 etc., which latter form cannot be accounted for by O.E. *ceorl*, whose regular M.E. forms are *cherle*, *churle*. See the Dictionaries of MÄTZNER and STRATMANN-BRADLEY. Modern English place-names do not, as far as we have been able to ascertain, preserve any traces of this A.N. peculiarity.

## 2. (tʃ) is followed by e, i.

In this position the Normans substituted (ts) for (tʃ), as appears from the nearly exclusive spellings *ce*, *ci* in D.B. A great many English place-names are also still pronounced with *s* < (ts) < (tʃ). Such a development is from an English point of view quite without a parallel, but to the Normans the substitution came quite natural, as their own language did not possess (tʃi) except in one single word (*chiche* < Greek *κίχινον*), and (tʃe) in a very small number of words in unstressed position (*cheval* etc.). These few exceptions could not have counted very much in comparison with the great number of words with (tse), (tsi). In fact, *cester* is the only spelling that occurs for numerous English places in O.Fr. texts. Cf. the instances brought together by WESTPHAL, Index, to which may be added: *Colecestre*, I, p. 76, *Cestre*, I, p. 306, *Wincestre*, I, p. 32, *Cestrefeld*, II, p. 148, Langtoft; *Cestre*, v. 15235, *Porecestre*, v. 15101, *Rouwecestre*, v. 15072, Guill. le Mar. Cf. also *Certesie*, v. 15767, Guill. le Mar. = Chertsey (Sr.), *Certesore*, v. 823, Gaimar = O.E. *Cerdices ora*, A.S. Chr.

There are, however, a few spellings *che*, *chi* for O.E. (tʃe), (tʃi), in D.B. (not noted by Stolze): *Chipeham* = Chippenham (Cb.), *Celes-*, *Chelesham* = Chelsham (Sr.), *Cherche*, Exon D.B., *Cercee*, Excheq. D.B. (Devon) = Church. These spellings might be considered as attempts to render the English sound properly, but are on account of their rare occurrence perhaps best explained as errors. We

<sup>1</sup> The regular French development of *cestre*, i.e. *ceetre*, is still preserved in Mod. Fr. Bicêtre: — «Lieu, près Paris, où était un château. — Etym. Winchester, nom d'un personnage anglais, qui, dans le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, possédait ce château»; LITTRÉ, Dic. français I, p. 337.

must keep in mind that the D.B. MSS. are copies of original returns, perhaps even second-hand copies, and a thoughtless scribe who was used to write *c* and *ch* indiscriminately in some positions, e.g. before *a*, might very well have transferred this interchange to *c* in other positions. Indeed, it is hardly probable that the *ch*-spellings belong to the originals. In the MS. of the Li.S. (1119), which may be of an earlier date than those of D.B., *ce ci* occur with nearly perfect regularity for O.E. (t/e), (t/i).

### B. (t/) in medial position.

Here the Normans had both (t/) and (ts) not only after a consonant, but also between two vowels, at least when *e* followed: *manche* < *manicam*, *herce* < *herpicem*, *lecher* < *leccare*, *sace* < *sapiam* etc. This state of things seems to be reflected in such spellings as *Lenche*, *Achelenz*, *Circelenz*, D.B. = *Lench*, *Atchlench*, Church *Lench* (Wo.), *Stanlinz*, D.B. = *Stallenge* (Dv.), *Stanlynch* (1316), F.A., *Wynch*, *Weinz*, F.A. = *Winch* (Nf.). Vowel + *che* is also much more usual in D.B. than initial *che*.

Medial *s* in Whissonsett and Messing (cf. list B. 1.) is the more likely to be due to A.N. influence, since the Normans had only the sound-combination vowel + (t/e), not that of vowel + (t/i).

### C. (t/) in final position after *i*.

Final *c* after *i* developed in the South of England to (t/), whereas the stop was probably kept before a following vowel. Cf. BÜLBRING §§ 496, 497 Anm. This theory is supported by the phonology of M.E. and N.E. dialectal words. Cf. RITTER, p. 33 ff. In late O.E. we have, consequently, (ik) in the North of England, (it/), or perhaps sometimes (ik) owing to the influence of the inflected forms, in the South.

The Normans had no final (it/) — at least not until *e* was lost in such words as *riche* — and it was, therefore, quite natural that they substituted the well-known (its) for English (it/)<sup>1</sup>. That we have here to do with a real pronunciation (its), later on (is), is

<sup>1</sup> Examples from O.Fr. text are adduced by WESTPHAL, p. 26. For instances of *-iz* instead of *-ich* in personal names see SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 69; RATHMANN, p. 45.

obvious from rhymes like *Dunewiz: escriz*, Fantosme, v. 872 = Dunwich (Sf.); *Sanwiz: recuilliz*, Gaimar, v. 2429 = O.E. *Sandwic*, A.S. Chr., *Chenriz: osciz*, Gaimar, v. 1789 = O.E. *Keneric*, Searle; *Sanwiz: enviz*, *Norwiz: escriz*, Guill. le Mar, v. 17187, v. 14120.

By the side of *-iz* we find in D.B. and later *-ic*, *-ich*. For instances cf. STOLZE, p. 44 f., RATHMANN p. 44 f., WESTPHAL, p. 23. It is very difficult to decide on the value of these spellings. In French words final *c*, *ch* stand for (k) in D.B. Cf. HILDEBRAND, p. 359. It is, however, not impossible that *-ic*, *-ich* are only spellings which were also pronounced (its). We can quote at least one rhyme in favour of this view, viz. *Errewic: Edelfriz*, Gaimar, v. 1005. This instance is of particular interest, as *-ic* corresponds to Northern (ik). Cf. also the place-name Warwick, which in R.Br., p. 113, exhibits the regular form *War-wik*, but in Langtoft's chronicle I, p. 474, appears as *Warwys: repris*.

The spelling *Norwece*, Paston Letters (see NEUMANN, p. 72) may be a late M.E. instance of A.N. *s* for English (tʃ). Cf. *Norwyce*, Langtoft I, p. 474, corresponding to *Norwiche*, R.Br., p. 208.

From the examination above we seem justified in drawing the conclusion that A.N. (ts) was generally substituted for English (tʃ): (1) initially before e and i, (2) medially before i after a vowel, (3) finally after i. In positions where the Normans had (tʃ) as well as (ts), both these sounds seem to have been used in rendering English (tʃ).

The French and English forms existed side by side for many centuries, as is amply proved by the numerous double forms in the lists.

<sup>1</sup> Loss of *c* after *i* we have noted in D.B. only in two rather dubious cases, viz. *Porbi*, *Porbiche* = Purbeck (Do.), *Tori* = Torridge (Dv.) < O.E. *Toric*, Earle. The forms without *c* are, no doubt, only spellings on the analogy of such double forms as *Alberi*, *Alberic*, *Baldri*, *Baldric*, D.B. etc. See HILDEBRAND, p. 349; MACKEL, p. 146. — *Torix*, D.B. < *Toric*, may in the same way be compared to such pairs as *Perdix*, *Perdriz*, R.B., and is best explained as a sort of false latinizing. As for modern Beverley (Du.) < O.E. *Beoferlic*, A.S. Chr., *Beverli: transi*, Gaimar (cf. WESTPHAL, p. 23) we refer to § 8. The form *Beoferlic* in the A.S. Chr. is hardly etymologically correct; the *c* is either due to faulty orthography, or to A.N. sound-substitution.

We have examined several documents of a somewhat more recent date than D.B. in order to ascertain the frequency of the French forms with initial *ce*, *ci* in comparison with the English ones in *che*, *chi*. From this examination all places in *-cester*, *-chester* are excepted, as also the few other cases in which the A.N. forms prevailed: Li.S., *ce*, *ci*, with great consistency; Inq. El. and I.C.C., *ce*, *ci* and *che*, *chi*, of which the former are a little more usual than the latter; Fr.Ch., *ce*, *ci* and *che*, *chi*. In the Index (12c.) we find by the side of numerous *ch*- forms a few in *ce*, *ci*. The Np.S. has only *ch* (8 ×). The O.E. personal names in Gaimar appear generally with *ce* seldom with *che*. Cf. RATHMANN, p. 57. From the beginning of the 13th cent. the French forms are in an absolute minority. We have gone through the first volume of the Ch.R., and only found the following instances: *Cistelet* = Chistlett (Ke.), *Ceddre* (1227) = Cheddar (Sm.), *Certesey* = Chertsey (Sr.), *Cettre* = Chitterne (Wl.). A few more may be added from the Index: *Cercelle* (Hen. III.) = Churchill (Ox.), *Cerde* (Edw. I.) = Chard (Sm.), *Cisselberg* (1250) = Chiselborough (Sm.). In the T.N. and the H.R. *c* is, on the whole, very rare; we have noted only a small number of cases. In the 14th and 15th cent. *ch* is the rule. The exceptions are few. The Index has *Cedene* = Cheddon (Sm.); in the F.A. we find *Seriton* (1346) = Cheriton (Ke.), and a few more as late as 1428: *Ceder* = Cheddar (Sm.), *Cynnok* = Chinnock (Sm.), *Cicelbere* = Chiselborough (Sm.). The French forms, which predominated in D.B. and the Li.S., have, with a few exceptions, quite disappeared, 300 years later.

We will now proceed to examine more closely the cases in which the A.N. forms have prevailed.

In place-names from O.E. *ceaster* the A.N. influence has been of a very thorough-going nature. To account for this we must bear in mind that a great many of these places were in the Middle Ages very important and flourishing towns, which played an important political or ecclesiastical part. That this latter circumstance was apt to favour the French influence, we have already pointed out. Cf. Introduction, p. 15. Indeed in a few cases where the English forms have gained the victory, the A.N.

forms are still in use — but only as episcopal signatures: *Cicestr* = Chichester, *Cestr* = Chester<sup>1</sup>.

That many French forms were more in use and had, so to speak, their stronghold among scholars and book-learned men, who often may have known Latin and French better than English, is sometimes clearly indicated by the very distribution of the forms. In a collection of La. Records, Ducatus Lancastriæ, Inquisitiones post mortem (1485–1625), Manchester, the most important place of this county, appears both as *Manchester* and *Mancestre* in the Latin parts, but only as *Manchester* in the English parts of the book. — In Magna Britannia we find *Lanchester* as the regular form of the Northumbrian town of that name, whereas an abbey in the immediate neighbourhood of the town is spoken of as *Langcester*<sup>2</sup>.

For some places the A.N. forms are in such a majority that we hardly meet with any English ones. This is the case with Gloucester, Leicester, and Worcester, which we have found in their native forms only in Lazamon and in the Proclamation of King Henry. In Lazamon's Brut the forms in *-chester* seem — in spite of Wace's invariable *-cestre* — to have been the original ones. Only here we find *Ærechestre* and *Cherinchestre* = Exeter and Cirencester, and the few instances of *-cester* in the MS.A. are, no doubt, the work of the copyist. It does not at all astonish us that Lazamon, the great patriot and sworn enemy of the French intruders, should prefer the native forms. In the MS.B. the copyist has made use of the *cester*-forms in all cases where they are still found in Mod. English.

In course of time the native forms have slowly gained ground, so that many French forms of frequent occurrence as late as the 15th c. are now replaced by the corresponding English ones. In R. of Gloucester's chronicle we find *-cester* as well as *-chester* for nearly all modern chester-towns, while Capgrave about a hundred years later has nearly the same distribution as Mod. English.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. THE CHURCHMAN'S POCKET BOOK, 1906, p. 179 ff., where we note some more archaic forms in the same use: *Cantuar*, *Winton*, *Exon*, *Norvic*, *Oxon*, *Dunelm*, *Sarum* etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Lancaster* used as a personal name is recorded as late as 1790. Cf. BARDSLEY, Dic., p. 466.

There is, however, even in some works of the 18th c. not exactly the same proportion between French and native forms as there is now. A comparison between all places in *-chester* and *-cester* here treated and their equivalents in Camden's *Britannia* shows that, at least in one case, Camden prefers the French forms, viz. *Silcester*, I, p. 147 = Silchester (Ha.). Though *Dorchester* (Ox.) keeps its regular form in the text itself, it occurs as *Dorcester* on the appended map of Oxfordshire. — Modern *Outchester* (Nb.), *Ulecester*, T.N., is still called *Ulecester* in M.Br. <sup>1</sup>.

That the A.N. forms have prevailed in Cerne (Do.) is by no means astonishing, for the place was already in O.E. times famous for its old abbey, which is supposed to have been founded by St. Austin, the apostle of the English. See CAMDEN I, p. 56 <sup>2</sup>.

Just as the prevalence of the *cester*-forms in many small places may be due to the influence of such great and important towns as Exeter, Gloucester etc., Cerne may have contributed to the victory of the A.N. forms in Cerney, Cerney Wick etc. <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In this place we will call attention to a few places in *-cester* the names of which are now obliterated from the English map. In the D.B. of Essex we find *Effecestre*, and in the F.A. for the same county, *Wibcester*. More examples occur in CAMDEN: — »In this part of the county (Li.) stood formerly the city *Sidnacester*, once the seat of the Bishops of those Parts, who were call'd Bishops of the *Lindifarii*; now neither ruins nor name are in being», (I, p. 571 f.); »In this place (Le.) stood once a very flourishing city call'd *Cley-cester*», (I, p. 531); »Whoever views the neighbouring heap of rubbish, which is now called *Colecester*» (Nb., II, p. 1085).

<sup>2</sup> The great veneration which the place enjoyed is piously expressed by the following curious etymology in Lazamon, v. 29674 ff.:

*þene stude he* (St. Austin) *cleopede Cernele*.

*cerno, cernis;*

*þat is Latin ful iwis.*

*cerno an Englisc leodē;*

*ich iseo swa hit is iqueden.*

*el is Ebreowisc;*

*þat is godd ful iwis.*

*þene tun he cleopede Cernel;*

*ich iseo drihten iuwildel.*

<sup>3</sup> We may add that association with the etymon *cerne*, *serne*, *cherne* (Godefroy), not uncommon in French place-names may have contributed to give credit to the A.N. forms. In the Topographical Dictionaries of Marne

Besides Whissonsett and Messing, where medial (tʃi) has been replaced by (tsi) > *si*, we have noted one case of *s* for medial (tʃ) before a following *e*, viz. Ticehurst (Ss.), pron. (tais). Old forms are *Tycheneherste* (1180), Cumbwell Ch.; *Tycheshurst* (1295), Ch.R.; *Ticehurst* (1327—30), *Ticheshurst*, *Tyshurst* (1381—85), *Tysherst* (1399—1401), P.R.; *Tycheshurst* (1426), *Tyseherst* (1543), Index. The first element seems to contain O.E. *ticcen*, Mdf., p. 134. To account for *s* in this word it is not necessary to assume French influence; *ch* may have been dropped before *s* after the syncopation of unstressed *e*. Cf. Tisted (Ha.) < O.E. *Ticcested*, Birch 786. A pronunciation (tis) would then have been the regular one. The occurrence of (ai) obviously points to French influence, unless it can be explained as due to spelling-pron. Cf. the discussion on Riding, Clive § 6.

Although several instances of French (ts) for English (tʃ) in final position have been noted, the French forms have not prevailed save in a few cases. Chatteris (Cb.), already in the Conqueror's time a famous abbey, appears still in a form of pronunciation similar to the one which was used by its French inmates. — The little river Hiz, on which the old town of Hichin is situated, has probably derived its name from the town, and exhibits the French form. — To judge from the form *Dice*, D.B. — where, however, *c* may stand for *s* — Diss (Nf.) should be a third example of the French forms having prevailed.

Only few attempts have been made to elucidate the questions we have treated in this paragraph. MORSBACH, *Urkunden*, p. 88, has a short note on Gloucester, Leicester, Worcester, the modern forms of which he rightly ascribes to French spelling and pronunciation without defining more closely the nature of the French influence.

WESTPHAL, p. 22, makes several objections to the theory of sound-substitution: — »Die Stufe (tʃ) war dem Gemeinfranzösischen des 12. Jahrhunderts geläufig vor *e* in Wörtern wie *cheval* (= lat. *caballus*), dem Pik. in Wörtern wie *chest* = *ecce iste*.» The force of these arguments is considerably reduced if we consider: (1) that e. A.N. is almost free from Picard influence; (2)

and Calvados we find several places called Cernay with old forms like *Cerneium* (1260), *Cyrneium* (1234), *Cernacum* (1303), *Cerneium* (1310), *Sernayum*, *Charny* (14 c.), *Cernay* (1411).

that the number of such words as *cheval* was very inconsiderable in comparison with the many others which had *ce*; (3) that in the earliest A.N. texts *cha*, *ca* are in those words quite as usual as *che*, *ce*, and may have been still more so at the time of the Conquest.

A theory of MAYHEW, Academy 1240, p. 17 (cf. also TAYLOR, Names, p. 32 ff.), according to which the modern cester-forms are confined to the old Mercian Kingdom, where in O.E. times W.S. *ceaster*, Northumbrian *cæster* appears as *cester*, is easily confuted, as a glance at the lists of forms heading this paragraph is sufficient to show that *chester* and *cester* occur promiscuously in the most different parts of England, and, consequently, dialectal influence is left out of the question.

#### Appendix A. The symbols *c* and *ch* in early A.N. and M.E. texts. —

To judge with some certainty of the various forms in which the place-names treated in this paragraph appear, it will be necessary to establish what values are to be assigned to the symbols *c*, *ch* in A.N. and English texts from the time after the Conquest.

##### 1. Value of *c*, *ch* in A.N. texts.

With the value of (k) *ch* was used already in Latin originally to render Greek  $\chi$  in words borrowed from that language. Cf. MACKEL, p. 130. Possibly in imitation of this Latin habit we find it in some very early (8th and 9th cent.) French or rather Frankish documents used by the side of *c* to render Teutonic ( $\chi$ ) before consonants, and strongly aspirated (h) before vowels in proper names like *Chlodovius*, *Charialdus*, *Sygichelme* etc. < \**hlūpa*, \**harja*, \**helma*. Cf. WALDEMATH, Die fränkischen Elemente in der franz. Sprache (Diss. Strassburg 1885), p. 40, p. 42, p. 44. In both cases the value of *ch* was probably (k) as in Latin. This (k) has been handed down to our time in French *Clovis*, the archaic form of the name of first Merovingian, whose modern correspondence is Louis, and perhaps in *chemise*, Vulg. Lat. *camisia*. Cf. MACKEL, p. 131.

In the earliest A.N. MSS. *ch* has certainly the double value of (k) and (tʃ). In fact, *h* is put after *c* as a sort of diacritic sign, denoting that *ch* followed by a certain vowel is to have a pronunciation different from the one which is generally assigned to *c* before the same vowel.

The following short analysis of the use of *ch* and *c* before the different vowels is chiefly based on investigations of e. A.N. texts by BUHLE, *Das C im Lamspringer Alexius* etc. (Diss. Greifswald 1881), VARNHAGEN, *Das altnormannische C* (Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil. III), and BEETZ, *C und Ch vor lat. A*.

*ch* and *c* before *a* < Lat. *ca* in texts of the 12th c. are by Varnhagen and Buhle taken to denote the same sound probably (tʃ). BEHRENS, p. 204, has pointed out, however, that, as far as the French loan-words in English are concerned, *c* in this position always denotes (k), while *ch* stands for (tʃ). We are, consequently, obliged to assume with Beetz that in Norman and A.N. both pronunciations existed, (k) originally representing the dialect of the North of Normandy, (tʃ) that of the South. In the course of the 12th cent. *ch* gets the upper hand, at least orthographically, probably on account of the growing influence of the Isle de France dialect. Cf. BEETZ, p. 66 f.

Before *i*, *ch* denotes (k), *c* stands for (ts) < Lat. *ci* etc.

Before *e*, *ch* denotes (k), *c* (ts) < Lat. *ce* etc. In one case, however, *ch* may stand for (tʃ), viz. in words originally containing Latin *ca* in open syllables. In such forms as *cief*, *ceval* < Lat. \**capum*, *caballum*, *c* has been kept as the historic spelling, but may have the value of (tʃ).

Picard (tʃe), (tʃi) < Lat. *ce*, *ci* etc. is in A.N. rather unusual and of sporadic occurrence. For references cf. STIMMING p. 233. His earliest examples are from *Les Rois* (c. 1170) and *Brandan* (c. 1200). Those are, however, looked upon as mere mistakes by BUHLE, p. 24, and SCHLÖSSER, p. 75. WAHLBERG, *Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün* (Lund 1900), p. XCIV, takes a similar view, when judging of a few similar instances from this text. The original had *c* = (ts); *ch* is probably a false spelling.

Before *u*, *ch* and *u* denote (k).

Before *o* < Lat. *o*, *c* and *ch* denote (k), but before *o* < Lat. *au*, *ch* has, of course, the value of (tʃ).

Our results may be briefly summed up as follows:

$c(a) = (k)$ : *camp* < *campum*;  $ch(a) = (tf)$ : *champ* < *campum*.

$c(i) = (ts)$ : *cil* < *ecce ille*;  $chi = 1$ .  $(k)$ : *chi* < *qui*, 2.  $(tf)$  sporadically and in comparatively late texts: *frunchist*, Ipomedon, v. 2390. Cf. STIMMING, p. 233.

$c(e) = 1$ .  $(ts)$ : *cent* < *centum*, 2.  $(tf)$ : *ceval* < *caballum*.

$ch(e) = 1$ .  $(k)$ : *unches* < *unquam*, 2.  $(tf)$ : *cheval* < *caballum*, *feche*, Ipomedon, v. 875 < *vicem*.

$c(u)$ ,  $ch(u) = (k)$ : *cure* < *curam*, *auchun* < \**alicunum*.

$c(o) = (k)$ : *cor* < *cornu*;  $ch(o) = 1$ .  $(tf)$ : *chose* < *causam*, 2.  $(k)$ : *eschordement*, Bestiary, v. 2776 < *cordem*.

Apart from position before a certain vowel, *ch* may always denote  $(k)$  in some learned words, especially personal names derived from Greek or Latin, e.g. *Achanius*, *Wace*, *Acharies*, *Alexius*, see BUHLE, p. 20, p. 21.

Contrary to what is supposed by HILDEBRAND, p. 359, we are of opinion that *c* and *ch* in D.B. are used in conformation to the rules given above. In purely French words *ca* alternates with *cha*, *ce* occurs for Latin *ce*: *Salceid* < *Salicetum* = Saussay; we find  $c(i)e$  by the side of  $ch(i)e$  < Latin *ca* in open syllables: *Cheure*, *Chieure*, *Cieure* < *capram* etc. Cf. HILDEBRAND, p. 333, p. 342.

It may be of some interest to give a short account of the various ways in which the sound of  $(k)$  is expressed before *e* and *i* in some of the early documents we have consulted. D.B. has mostly *ch*, more seldom *k*, *qu* (cf. STOLZE, p. 42 f.); a few instances of *c* may either be explained as mere errors, or the forms have been more or less directly copied from O.E. originals in which *c*, of course, had the double value of  $(k)$  and  $(t)$ . The same explanation may be adopted for sporadic *c* by the side of *ch*, *k* in Gaimar: *Chenret*, v. 1566, *Kenret*, v. 1599 < O.E. *Cenred*, A.S. Chr., but *Cenwalh*, v. 1403, *Cenwaille*, v. 1356 < O.E. *Cenwealh*, A.S. Chr. The Lincolnshire Survey, this very old (1119) and as to its orthography much more consistent document than D.B., has *ch* almost exclusively. The I.El. and the I.C.C. (1180) have *ch* and *k*, of which *ch* is the more usual; the R.B., *ch* and *k*; the Index, *ch* and *k*; the Fr.Ch., *ch* and *k*. In the short but very interesting Northampton Survey (end of 12th c.) we only find *k* (5 ×). In Westphal's examples from English chronicles it strikes us that *k* is much more usual than *ch*. After the 12th cent. we have not

been able to find one single instance of *ch* = *k* before front vowels. On the other hand *ch*, now as well as in earlier MSS., occasionally occurs with the value of (k) before back vowels and consonants: *Chneya* (1268), *Ch.R.* = *Knaith* (Li.); (*Walter of*) *Corf-gate*, *Choriet*, *Corepat* (c. 1275), Gl. Records. Thus *ch* predominates in the earliest MSS., but is in the course of the 12th cent. slowly superseded by *k*.

## 2. Value of *c*, *ch* in early English.

We will now try and set forth the most salient points in the use of *ch* as an orthographical symbol in English. As to literature on the subject cf. KLUGE, *Paul's Gr.*, p. 990; RITTER, *Die Verteilung der ch- und k-formen*, p. 5, and above all the excellent account given by WYLD in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1899—1902, p. 140 ff.

*ch* was very often used both in O.E. and M.E. to denote the guttural or palatal spirant (ɣ)<sup>1</sup>.

In early M.E. it seems, moreover, to have been adopted from French in the special use of distinguishing between (k) and (tʃ). At first *h* after *c* was, just as in French, only a diacritic sign; consequently, *ch* could stand both for (k) and (tʃ). Towards the end of the 12th cent. *ch* occurs more frequently, and has now nearly always the value of (tʃ). In some texts from the beginning of the 13th c. (*Anceren Riwe*, *Lazamon* etc.) final *c* may occasionally have the value of (tʃ); otherwise we may consider *ch* for (tʃ) by this time as an orthographical rule. The only exceptions to this rule are, of course, M.E. copies of O.E. originals, in which the old spelling either prevails, or is at least to a great extent preserved by the side of the new one. Lastly, we must not forget that in English on the whole *ch* may always denote (k) in learned words, borrowed from Greek or Latin, as also in a great many foreign personal names. Thus, although *Ormmulum* with very great consistency writes *ch* for (tʃ), we find just in the personal names of this text some instances of *ch* =

<sup>1</sup> In O.E. a few sporadic instances of *ch* = (k) have been noted. Cf. Miss LEA, *Language of the North. Gloss* (*Anglia XVI*), p. 128, BOUTERWEK, *North. Evang.* CXXXVIII. Cf. also WYLD, p. 140.

(k). See REICHMANN, *Die Eigennamen im Ormulum*, p. 81 (Stud. zur Engl. Phil., herausg. von Morsbach, XXV).

The following account of the use of *ch* in some of our earliest M.E. MSS. tends to prove the correctness of what has been said above. If not otherwise stated, *c* is the usual way of denoting both (k) and (tʃ) in the texts considered below.

Laws of Canute (MS. A, c. 1120), *ch* = (k): \**folchisne*; *ch* = (tʃ): *michel*. Cf. L. WROBLEWSKI (Diss. Berlin 1901), p. 52.

Textus Roffensis (MS. 1130—50), *ch* = (k): *Falche*, *falchenham*. Cf. W. GÖRNE MANN (Diss. Berlin 1901), p. 44.

A.S. Chr. (1137), *ch* = (k): *rachenteges*.

Herbarium Apuleii (MS. c. 1150), *ch* = (tʃ): *drenche*, *wyrche*. Cf. BERBERICH in *Anglist. Forsch.* 5, p. 29.

Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton 38, c. 1150), *ch* = (tʃ) quite often; *ch* = (k) principally in foreign words. Cf. WYLD, p. 141.

Poema Morale (MS. Lambeth 487, c. 1170), *ch* for (tʃ) seems to be the rule.

Abingdon Chartulary (MSS. 1200, 1260, late copies of O.E. charters), *ch* = (tʃ) quite often; *ch* = (k): *Dorchecestere*, *Bochelande*. Cf. F. LANGER (Berlin 1904), p. 71 f.

M.E. version of the Rule of Saint Benet (MS. c. 1200), *ch* = (tʃ) quite often. Cf. J. TACHAUER (Diss. Würzburg 1906), p. 9.

O.E. Homilies (MS. Vesp. A 22, c. 1200), *ch* = (tʃ) quite often; *ch* = (k): *dierchin*. Cf. WYLD, p. 141.

Lazamon's Brut (MS. A, c. 1222, MS. B, c. 1275), *ch* = (tʃ) is the rule; *ch* = (k): *awachede*, A, v. 2685. Cf. LUCHT (*Palæstra* XLIX) p. 73.

Kentish Sermons (MS. Laud 471, c. 1200—50) *ch* is always used for (tʃ). Cf. WYLD, p. 142.

Consequently, in the beginning of the 13th cent. *ch* is nearly always put to denote (tʃ); *ch* = (k) in native words is after this time extremely rare. In the Paston Letters we find one instance, i.e. *dronchyn* = *druncen*; see NEUMANN, p. 73. For instances of *ch* = (k) in learned words see NEUMANN, p. 73, RUDOLF, *Die engl. Orthographie*, p. 40, KOEPEL, *Spelling-pron.*, p. 31.

Appendix B. The transition of (ts) to *s* in O.Fr.

## The date of the D.B. MSS. —

The sound-combination (ts) became *s* in both Continental French and A.N. Authors do not agree as to the time when this transition took place. To judge from rhymes in Computus and Gaimar final (ts) of various provenience seems to have become *s* already towards the beginning of the 12th cent. Cf. STIMMING, p. 230. Unfinal (ts) may have been kept somewhat longer. NYROP, Gramm. § 404, assumes for the transition so late a date as the 13th cent. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 406, thinks it goes as far back as the 12th cent. Several early spellings with *sc* and *s* for *c* < Lat. *ce*, *ci* etc. may be quoted in favour of this view. See STIMMING, p. 232 f. Cf. also *Scessuns* (1127), A.S. Chr. = Soissons < *Suessionis* (QUICHERAT, p. 17); *Scand laudan*, ibid. = Saint Lo (Manche). The latter example is perhaps not quite so conclusive; *Sce* often occurs as a shortening of *Sancte*, and, consequently, *Scand* may be an orthographic blending of *Sancte* and *Sce*.

That nearly all French loan-words in English exhibit *s* does not prove very much, as on the one hand the unusual initial sound-combination (ts) may have been replaced by *s*, on the other assimilation of (ts) to *s* is usual in English itself. Cf. KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1012. In Fitz the old pronunciation has been kept, in spite of (ts) becoming *s* quite early in this position. We must, however, keep in mind that Fitz mostly occurred as part of a personal name, in which, contrary to the rules ordinary words are subjected to, an archaic pronunciation may very well have been preserved. As for Mod. E. assets < O.Fr. *asez* there is strong evidence for believing that the spelling has influenced the pron. For instances of early forms (16th c. and later) see N.E.D.

A very curious and hitherto unnoticed circumstance is that in D.B. *s*, *sc*, *c* are interchangeable in the spelling not only of the English, but also of some purely French words, viz. *Corcel*, *Corscella*, *Coursella* = Courcelles, *Wissand*, *Wiscant* = Wissant. Cf. HILDEBRAND, p. 334, p. 345.

The following instances of interchange in English words may also very well be worth mentioning.

1. *c* for O.E. *s*: *Nacefeld* = Nesfield (Yo.), *Nesse*, *Nesefeld*, Yo. K.Q., Yo. N.V. < O.E. *næs*, *ness*, Mdf., p. 97; *Torgis*, Exch. D.B. of Dv. against *Torgic* in the Exon version < O.E. *Thurgils*, Searle.

2. *s* for O.E. *c* = (t): *Ciltendis*, *-dic* = Childerditch (Es.), *Chiltendich*, H.R., T.N. < O.E. *dic*; *Belicolt*, *Berisout* = Bircholt (Ke.), *Biricholt* (1204), Ke. P.F. < O.E. *byrce*, *byric*, Mdf., p. 23; *Cecandene*, *Secendune* = Checkendon (Ox.); *Loteis* = Lutwyche (Sh.), *Lotwich*, H.R. < O.E. *wīc*; *Hancese* = Hanchurch (St.)

3. *sc* for O.E. *c* = (t): *Beriscolt* = Bircholt (Ke.); *Flescinges* = Fletching (Ss.), *Flechyng* (14 c.), C.R., P.R.

But the graphic confusion goes further still. O.E. *sc* = (j) is in D.B. generally rendered by *sch*, *sc*, *s* (cf. STOLZE, p. 45), and *c* appears not unfrequently even for such an *s*, *sc*, *sch*.

4. *c* for O.E. *sc* = (j): *Celdestone* = Shalstone (Bu) — the Ch.R. have *sc*, the T.N. *sh*, the H.R. *s* — < O.E. *scealde*, Mdf., p. 111; *Celdefordam*, *Scaldefort* = Shalford (Es.), *Scaldeford*, H.R., *Shaldeford*, F.A. < O.E. *scealde*; *Ece* = Ash (Ke.) < O.E. *æsc*, Mdf. p. 9; *Keilmerse*, *Cailmarc* (the latter form may also be due to confusion with *marca*, *marc*, very usual in Norman place-names, cf. QUICHERAT, p. 121) = Kelmarsh (Np.); *Celdestai* = Shelsley (Wo.), *Sceldeslege* (12 c.) (cf. DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 148); *Caldesai* = Shelsley Walsh (Wo.), *Sceldeley Walleys* (1275) (cf. DUIGNAN, p. 148); *Calvrestot*, *Celrestuis* = Shelvestrode, manor in East Grinstead (Ss.), *Shelvistrode* (1411), Ss. S.R. < O.E. *scylf*, *scelf*, Mdf., p. 114; the second element of the D.B. form is probably due to association with such usual Norman place-names as Hottot, Thuit, see JORET, p. 53, p. 81.

This double use of *c* for O.E. *c* = (t) and O.E. *sc* = (j) will perhaps account for a few more very peculiar spellings in D.B. By the side of regular *Tacesbroc* we have noted the curious form *Taschebroc* = Tachbrook (Wa.). If sometimes *c* could stand not only for *c* = O.E. (t), but also for *s*, *sc*, *sch* = O.E. (j), *sch* may here have been thoughtlessly written for *c*. Moreover, *Chenetfeldam* by the side of *Scenefeldam* = Shenfield (Es.) is perhaps nothing but one more instance of *c* for *s*, *ch* being occasionally used in D.B. to render O.E. *c* = (t) before *e*.

All these comparatively numerous cases of orthographic interchange between *s*, *sc*, *c* in D.B. seem to indicate that, at the

time when the present MSS. of *Liber Censualis* were written, the transition of (ts) > s had already commenced. On the other hand, as such spellings are rare even in texts from the middle of the 12th cent., we can hardly account for their appearance here without assuming that the Exon and Exchequer MSS., contrary to a general belief, are not originals but only 12th cent. copies of untraceable originals.

In documents of somewhat more recent date than D.B. we have noted a few instances of s for c, and vice-versa, in a position where c generally has the value of (k), and these, consequently, are to be considered as still more glaring mistakes by thoughtless scribes. They, of course, owe their origin to the circumstance that, as we have already seen, c in some positions — before e, i — might have the value of s.

1. s for c: *Salthorn*, Yo. N.V. = Cawthorne (Yo.), *Cal-torn*, D.B.

2. c for s.

a. Before a vowel: *Cadintone* (1210), R.B. = Saddington (Li.); *Colebi*, R.B. = Sulby (Np.), *Sule-*, *Soleby*, Index; *Callay*, Yo. N.V. = Sawley (Yo.), *Sallai*, D.B.; Sampson, the name of a Wo. bishop, appears in the Fr. Ch. as *Canson*, *Sanson*.

b. Before a consonant: *Clipton* (1428), F.A. = Slipton (Np.), besides always *Slipton* in the F.A.; *Kectevene*, *Kesctevene*, *Kestevene*, H.R. = Kesteven (Li.). For similar instances see RUDOLF, *Die engl. Orthographie*, p. 37.

## § 2. Anglo-Norman (t) is substituted for English initial (p).

1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.*

1. Tingleth (Bd.) < O.E. *ping*, Mdf., p. 139. Cf. *pingleah*, Kemble, *pinghow*, Thorpe. 2. Turnworth (Do.) < O.E. *þorn*, Mdf., p. 139, very usual both as the first and the second element of a place-name. Cf. Thornby (Np.). *Turneby*, Ch.R. I; Thornbury (Gl.), *Turneberie*, D.B., *Thornebir*, *Torneber*, H.R., *Torneb'i*, T.N., *Thornebiria*, Ch.R. II, *Torbyri* (1284), F.A. 3. Tormerton (Gl.). The first element is, no doubt, due to O.E. *Thurmær*, *Thurmer*, Searle. The D.B. form, on the other hand, points to O.E. *Thurmund*, though n may be an error for r. That we really have to do with an interchange or perhaps rather confusion between -mær and -mund is, however, evident from the

form *Tormanton* on Camden's map of Gloucestershire, and still more so if we scan the early forms of Farmington in another hundred, which appears in the F.A. as *Thormanton* (1284), *Thormerton* (1303, 16, 46), on Camden's map as *Farmynton*, and in Magna Britannia as *Thormerton alias Farmington*. 4. *Torleton* alias *Tarilton* (Gl.). The etymology may be an O.E. \**Thurhild*, \**Thurwealdtun*. 5. *Tealby* (Li.). All the early spellings point to O.E. *Theabul* (= *þeafol*), Sweet, O.E.T., p. 494. There is in Lincolnshire another place called *Thealby*, which shows exactly the same early forms as *Tealby* (*Teuelby*, 1316, F.A. etc.), but in which (*þ*) has been kept. 6. *Torkesy* (Li.)? < O.E. *Thurkill*, Searle. 7. *Thorpe* or *Torpe* in *Ufford* (Np.). The C.R. and the F.A. spell the modern form with *t*, the Ch.R. with *th*. The first element seems to be O.E. *þorp*, the second may originally have contained O.E. *leah* or *hyll*. Used as a personal name the place appears already in the H.R. and the T.N. as *Torpe*, in the F.A. (1346) as *Torpell*, and in the C.R. (1227—31) as *Thorpe*. 8. *Torworth* (Nt.). To judge from the early spellings, O.E. *Thord*, *Thored*, *Thured*, Searle, may be contained in the first element of the place. 9. *Tusmore* (Ox.) < O.E. *Thur*, Searle. 10. *Torweston* (Sm.)? < O.E. *Thurwulf*, *Thurweald*, Searle.

D.B. *Tingrei*<sup>1</sup>, *Torneworde*<sup>2</sup>, *Tormentone*<sup>3</sup>, *Tavelesbi*<sup>5</sup>, *Turdenworde*<sup>8</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Tablesbeia*<sup>5</sup>. R.B. *Tunewrthe*<sup>2</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Torpe*<sup>7</sup>, *Thordworth*<sup>8</sup> I, *Torreworth*<sup>8</sup> II. F.A. *Thouesmer*<sup>9</sup> (1284), *Thorveston*<sup>10</sup> (1284). H.R. *Tyngri*<sup>1</sup>, *Torkesey*<sup>6</sup> (7 X), *Thorkeseye*<sup>6</sup> (6 X), *Tursmere*<sup>9</sup>. P.R. *Tormer*-, *Thormerton*<sup>3</sup> (1292—1301). T.N. *Ting'e*<sup>1</sup>, *Tormarton*<sup>3</sup>, *Tures*-, *Thuresmere*<sup>8</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Tormerton*<sup>3</sup> (37—39, 39—41, 43—46), *Torleton*<sup>4</sup> (37—39). Cat.A.D. *Tevelby*<sup>5</sup>. F.A. *Tyngrie*<sup>1</sup> (1302), *Thorneworthe*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Thormerton*<sup>3</sup>, *Theuel*- *Teuelby*<sup>5</sup>, *Teelby*<sup>5</sup>, *Torpell*<sup>7</sup> (1346), *Tordworth*<sup>8</sup> (1316), *Toresmere*<sup>9</sup> (1316), *Thouresmere*<sup>9</sup> (1346). Gl.Rec. *Thormertone*<sup>3</sup> (1317). P.R. *Tormer*-, *Thormerton*<sup>3</sup> (01—07), *Tormerton*<sup>3</sup> (34—38), *Thormarton*<sup>3</sup> (21—24), *Therleton*<sup>4</sup> (24—27), *Torle*-, *Thorleton*<sup>4</sup> (43—45), *Theuelby*<sup>5</sup> (27—30), *Torworth*<sup>8</sup> (43—45).

15th c. — F.A. *Tyngrie*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Twneworth*<sup>2</sup> (1428), *Thormerton*<sup>3</sup> (1428), *Torkesey*<sup>6</sup> (1428), *Torpell*<sup>7</sup> (1428), *Thoresmer*<sup>9</sup> (1428), *Torveston*<sup>10</sup> (1428). Index. *Thormerton*<sup>3</sup> (1432), *Thorleton*<sup>4</sup> (1433).

<sup>1</sup>) The above forms are meant to instance A.N. (*t*) for O.E. (*þ*) in English place-names. As no O.E. forms are recorded, and there is a continual interchange between initial *t* and *th* in a great many M.E. documents, the greatest cautiousness is required in judging of the forms. We take *Tealby* and *Tormerton* to be absolutely safe instances; as for the others it is at least highly probable that the O.E. ground-form contained (*þ*).

2. *The A.N. forms have not prevailed*<sup>1</sup>.

1. Fingerst (Bu.) < O.E. *þing*. 2. Catthorpe (Le.) < O.E. *þorp*. 3. Winthorp (Li.) < O.E. *þorp*. 4. Cawthorpe (Li.) < O.E. *þorp*. 5. Finedon (Np.) < O.E. *þing*.

D.B. *Catorp*<sup>2</sup>, *Tingdene*<sup>5</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Winetorp*<sup>3</sup> (1150—60), *Wintorp*<sup>3</sup> (1175).

13th c. — F.A. *Tinghurst*<sup>1</sup> (1284), *Thorpcat*<sup>2</sup> (1284). H.R. *Tingehurst*<sup>1</sup>, *Torpkat*<sup>2</sup>, *Calthorp*<sup>4</sup>, *Thingden*<sup>5</sup>. Index. *Winetorp*<sup>3</sup> (Hen. III.), *Winthorp*<sup>3</sup> (Hen. III.), *Kaltorph*<sup>4</sup>, *Tingd*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. III.), *Thinden*<sup>5</sup> (1296). T.N. *Cat*, *Cathorp*<sup>2</sup>, *Wymethorp*<sup>3</sup>, *Calthorp*, *-torp*<sup>4</sup>, *Thingden*<sup>5</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Tyngelhurst*<sup>1</sup> (1346), *Calthorp*<sup>4</sup> (1303). Index. *Wynthorpe*<sup>3</sup> (1331), *Wynthorp*<sup>3</sup> (1347, 64), *Calthorpe*<sup>4</sup> (1335), *Thyngden*<sup>5</sup> (1393)

The voiceless lip-teeth consonant (p) of so frequent occurrence in the Germanic languages was, at least in initial position, absolutely unknown to the Normans, who in the course of one century and a half had so completely forgotten their own language, that if we except a few loan-words it has only left some traces in the local nomenclature of the districts they occupied. Cf. NYROP, Gramm. § 13.

The phonology of Germanic loan-words in O.Fr. shows that (t) was always substituted for initial (p). Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 18, p. 41, MACKEL, p. 164 f., and in the case of Normandy such place-names as *le Torp*, *le Tourp* < Scand. *þorp*, *Torgistorp* < Scand. *þorgilsþorp* etc.

Not otherwise did the Normans treat initial (p) in English place-names; (t) was always substituted for (p). In the earliest documents this (t) is mostly rendered by *t*. In D.B. *t* is by far the more usual spelling, though a few instances of *th* have also been noted. Cf. STOLZE, p. 41. Most 12th cent. records (Inq. El., I.C.C., Fr.Ch. etc.) do not differ much from D.B. in this respect. In the Pi.R. of 1189—90 we do not find one single instance of *th* for (t) in the numerous place-names < O.E. *þorp*, *þorn* there recorded. Also in the Li.S. *t* predominates, though we have found *th* in a few cases, e.g. *Hacatorn*, *Hachethorna* = Hackthorn.

There are, however, two feudal records of the 12th cent. in which we perceive a strong and, no doubt, intentional tendency to denote (p) with *th*, viz. the Le. and Np. Surveys.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the account of the use of *t* and *th* given below.

Nearly all place-names in which O.E. (þ) is rendered by *t* in D.B., appear in the Np. S. with *th*. The exceptions are very few. In the short Le. S. place-names containing O.E. (þ) occur only four times; all of them are spelled with *th*.

This tendency becomes general in the course of the 13th cent. Obviously the Norman scribes had now acquired a better knowledge of the difference between English (þ) and (t), and seriously endeavoured to keep them apart by denoting one with *th* the other with *t*. An examination of the T.N. for Leic., where owing to strong Scand. influence Thorpe is a very usual designation of a place, shows that *Thorpe* is by far the more usual spelling, and some ten years later in the H.R. for the same country we find only a few instances with *t*. Interchange between *th* and *t* is, on the other hand, not uncommon in the T.N. and the H.R.: *Turg'tun*, *Thurgereton*, H.R. = Thurgarton (Nf.); *Althorp*, *-torp*, *-trop*, H.R. = Althorp (Li.); *Eylesthorp*, *-torp*, H.R. = Elsthorpe (Li.); *Hakethorn*, *-torn*, T.N. = Hackthorn (Li.) etc. — In the first vol. of the Ch.R. we have, by the side of regular forms in *th*, found a few isolated instances of *t*, viz. *Tacheam* = Thatcham (Be.); *Taxted* = Thaxted (Es.); *Tefford* = Thetford (Li.); *Taydon* = Theydon (Es.); *Tymelesby* = Thimbleby (Li.); *Turneby* = Thornby (Np.).

In the 14th c. *t* is still more exceptional. We have gone through the second vol. of the F.A., and, in addition to those given in our list, only found the following cases: *Tirning* = *Thurning* (Ha.); *Tyteburst* = Theobald street (Ht.); *Terefeld* = Therfield (Ht.). *Trehus* and *Trokking*, ib. = Three Houses (Ht.), Throcking (Ht.) are no certain examples, dialectal sound-change being not improbable.

It goes without saying that we cannot expect to find many instances of *t* for *th*, þ in purely English works. The following examples from the A.S. Chr. are worthy of note: *Torn'* MS. E = The Isle of Thorney; *Turstan*, *Teobald* MS.H., *Turstein* MS.E. R.Br., p. 27, has *Teteford* = Thetford (Nf.).

The forms in *t* due to A.N. sound-substitution have very seldom been generally accepted, probably because the native forms were often supported by words still living in the spoken language (thorp, thorn etc.) When the etymological identity of the word was not so obvious the French forms might more easily supplant the native ones. In fact, it is particularly with

place-names containing a personal name that this has been the case. This is the less astonishing in consideration of the circumstance that a great many O.E. names in *þ* were ousted by their French equivalents in *t*.

It still remains to be seen if (t) for (þ) in Tormerton, Tealby etc. may have originated in some other way than by A.N. sound-substitution.

Dialectal influence must not be left out of the question altogether, for in the vernaculars the interdental spirant has often been replaced by the dental stop.

In the South of England initial (þ) was voiced, and, according to SWEET, H.E.S. § 728, the voicing had been developed before the 11th c. KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1007 Anm., thinks that at least in Ayenbite initial (þ) was generally voiced. At any rate, we must start from voiced initial (þ) to account for the sound-change (ð) > (d), which is well evidenced for the South of England in late M.E. times, See DIBELIUS, p. 451; NEUMANN, p. 75. In Octavianus, ed. SARRAZIN (Alteng. Bibl., herausg. von Kölbing, III) there are a great many spellings with *d* for *þ* in initial — as well as medial — position: *de, dan, do, dare, dyder, denk; dowzhte, drew* etc., as also a few with *þ* for *d*: *þere,*

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<sup>1</sup> Some spellings in D.B. tend to corroborate Sweet's statements as to the early date of the voicing. Initial *d* — sound-substitution for (ð)? — appears in *Dereuelde* = Therfield (Ht.), *Edrope* = Heythrop (Ox.), and *Dernescep* = Thurnscoe (Yo.). All these places are situated on a territory where initial (þ) remained unvoiced. STOLZE, p. 49, has, however, pointed out that in the case of N. places S. forms are not uncommon in D.B., so *Dernescep* etc. may really be instances of (d) for initial (ð). On the other hand, in view of the inconsistent use of *t* and *d* in D.B., we are scarcely justified in drawing any far-reaching conclusions from only a few spellings.

How are we to account for the following cases of *t* for initial *d*, and vice-versa: *Todingetona, Dodingedona*, Fr.Ch. = Toddington (Bd.); *Torsete*, Wace, v. 1463 = Dorset; *Tantes, Dantesborne*, D.B. = Duntisbourne (Gl.); *Totinton, Dodinton*, D.B. = Totton (Ha.), *Todintona*, Ch.R. II; *Tarenteford*, D.B., Ch.R., R.B. = Dartford (Ke.) < O.E. *Diorente*, Earle; *Danefelt, Tunefelt*, D.B. = Tanfield (Yo.); *Tiverington, Deverington* (Hen. III.), I.P.M. = Terrington (Yo.). Has the usual orthographic interchange between final and medial *d* and *t* been thoughtlessly transferred to *d* and *t* in initial position as well, or could the Normans not properly distinguish between Engl. (d) and (t)? SKEAT, Ht. Pl.-Ns., p. 55, thinks that initial *t* for *d* sometimes may be due to the influence of the preposition *æt, at*.

*þefende, þorst* etc. All of them are looked upon by the editor as errors. See Introduction, p. XII. The same peculiar spellings appear also in another Kentish MS. from about the same time (the second half of the 14th c.), Cott. Jul. D. IX. Cf. also *theer* = deer, Libeaus Disconus, v. 1133. We are of opinion that *d* in *denk* etc. denotes a then common dialectal pronunciation (d) < (ð), while the less numerous cases of *þ* for *d* may be explained as inverted spellings. In the 16th cent. initial (d) for (ð) is evidenced by the English orthoëpist Bullokar for Kent and Sussex. See KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1007 Anm. In the present English dialects (d) for initial (ð) occurs sporadically in the whole S. and S.W. England: (1) in disle and datch = thistle, thatch (Sm., Dv., He.); (2) in pronouns and adverbs (Ke., Ss.); and is (3) particularly well instanced in the combination *thr*. Cf. E.D.Gr. §§ 310, 311, 313; KRUSINGA § 358. An English grammar of the year 1701 warns against dialectal dunder for thunder. See D. and M. Förster, Anglia XXIV, p. 116. In place-names drop for throp etc. occurs not unfrequently in S. England; Hildrop (Wl.), *Hullethrop* (1310), Index, is one instance.

No doubt, the modern instances of (d) for initial (ð) are only remains of a once very common dialectal sound-change. On the gradual disappearance of (v) for initial (f) from many S. Engl. dialects see EKWALL, Jones's Phonography § 588. In like manner (z) for initial (s) is hardly to be found any longer in the Kentish dialect, of which it once was a characteristic feature. See KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1010; E.D.Gr. § 320.

In some Midl., W. and N. dialects, in which initial *th* remains (þ), we find (tr) < (þr), exactly answering to S.English (dr) < (ðr). On this point see E.D.Gr. § 313, where we are told that the sound-change occurs in Yo., La., Nf., Sf. FRANZMEYER, p. 54, notes one instance also from Bucks.

We have found several cases of (tr) for (þr) in the names of places which are situated within or in the immediate neighbourhood of those districts, so (t) for (þ) is here, no doubt, a provincialism: Threo or Treo (Nf.), *Trehoo*, D.B., *Trehow*, H.R. < O.E. *þrēo* + *hōh*, Mdf., p. 74; Thrandeston (Sf.), »vulgarly pronounced Transton» (see HALL, Mod. English), »alias Franston» (M.Br.) < O.E. *Thrandeston*, Thorpe; Heythorp (Ox.), »commonly called Aytrop» (M.Br.), *Ethrop*, *Hetrop*, T.N. < O.E. *þorþ*; Trus-

thorpe (Li.), *Thursthorp*, *Thrusthorp*, *Trussethorp*, F.A. < O.E. *Thur*, Searle. Here belongs perhaps also Tring (Ht.) < *þriþing*. Cf. § 6.

In the same manner as, though more seldom, we find initial (d) for (ð), by the side of the more common (dr) for (ðr), in the South of England, we might expect to hit upon some instances of initial (t) for (þ) in those parts of England where (tr) occurs for (þr). However, cases of initial (t) for (þ), as a parallel to (tr) < (þr), have hardly been noted here either by Wright or Franzmeyer. Nevertheless, we consider it highly probable that such a sound-change formerly existed, and as a matter of fact it has been evidenced in a few instances from M.E. and e. N.E. times: *tanke*, Tyndale; *tre*, *tynge*, *tynken*, Pride of Life (see DIBELIUS, p. 451); *tanked tynggs*, Paston Letters (see NEUMANN, p. 91); *tought*, Colet, see SAM. BLACH, Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule (Halberstadt 1905), p. 41. In Bartholomew Fair Captain Whitley uses (t) for (þ) in *tank* and *ting*. Cf. PANNING, Dial. Engl. in Elizabethanischen Dramen (Diss. Halle 1884), p. 34.

From the evidence of the material above — which certainly could be much added to — we seem justified in assuming that initial *th* in late M.E. has become *t* and *d*, respectively, in several English dialects. In the present vernaculars there are still some lingering traces of the sound-change, particularly in the combination *thr*. The more general occurrence of initial (t) for (þ) on the Isle of Man (see E.D.Gr. § 313; FRANZMEYER, p. 54), where owing to insular isolation dialectal changes have greater possibility of being preserved, may perhaps be pointed to as the last remnants of the transition of initial (þ) to (t). The vernacular of the Isle of Man is placed by Ellis in the same division as the Lancash. dialect, where (tr) frequently occurs for (þr).

This whole question — as well as that of medial (ð) > (d) — presents many obscure and difficult points, and would certainly be well deserving of further investigations. It would be of particular interest to fix the exact time of the transition. Some more material is adduced in § 6. The M.E. forms of numerous places in -thorp, -throp would prove a very useful material.

In the instances we have quoted to illustrate French sound-substitution, no dialectal distribution of *t*- and *d*- forms is to be traced. *t* occurs for *th* not only in the Midl. and W., but also in the S. parts of England. Consequently, dialectal sound-change is not very probable. The early appearance of the spellings with *t* also tells against such an assumption.

One more objection may be made to our explanation of the *t*-forms; perhaps they are due to assimilation in connected speech if, for instance, the preposition *at* was prefixed to a place-name. Cf. *atte* < *at þe*, *Ormulum* etc. This explanation is, however, not very probable for, as far as we know, no cases have been recorded of initial (þ) having been assimilated to (t) in stressed syllables. Cf. SCOTT, *Attractions in English in Trans.* of the Amer. Phil. Ass. XXV, 1894, p. 88. Such forms as *Randeston*, T.N. = *Thrandeston* (Sf.), *Redland* (Gl.) = *Thirdelond* (1346), *Yriddelond* (1284), F.A., are perhaps best explained from *at Trandeston*, *at Triddelond* with French or dialectal *tr*. Even if (þ) was first assimilated to (t) the result has been complete loss, not alteration of (þ) to (t). Cf. *qræt at* < *hwæt þæt*, *Paston Letters*, DIBELIUS, p. 451.

NOTE. In this place we will point out two instances in which the interchange of *t*, *th* in the early spellings is merely due to graphic confusion between two personal names from different roots: (1) *Tibaldstone* Hundred (Gl.), *Tedboldestan*, D.B., *Thebaldestan*, *Tedbaldestan*, H.R., *Tibaldstone*, *Tedbaldston*, *Theobaldeston*, F.A.; (2) *Tilshead* (Wl.), pron. [tælsəd], ELLIS, V p. 58\*, *Theodulveside* (1 X), *Tidulfhide* (4 X), D.B., *Thidulfhide* (1 X), *Tidulfeshid* (8 X), T.N., *Tidolesside*, *Tydellesside*, H.R., *Tidulveshida*, R.B., *Tydulveshide*, *Thidulveshide* (1216–25), *Tygdulveshyde* (1381–85), P.R.

To judge from such forms as *Theodulveside* and *Theobaldeston*, the first element of the above-mentioned place-names would contain O.E. *þeodbeald*, and modern *t* might be due to A.N. sound-substitution. Cf. Germanic *þiud-bald*, *þeodbald* = O.Fr. *Tibal*, *Tibalt*, *Tedbalt* = Mod. Fr. *Thibaut*, MACKEL, p. 128, p. 165. But if we scan the O.E. records it appears that *þeod* is rather an unusual compound in personal names, whereas compounds with *tīd* are very usual from the earliest times. In the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham the only compound with *þeod* is *theodric* (instanced 4 times), whereas *tīd* occurs more than 70 times with a great variety of suffixes. Cf. MÜLLER (*Palæstra* IX), p. 86, p. 90. The O.E. ground-form of *Tilshead* is, no doubt, \**Tīdwulfeshigīd* or *-hīd*. As to *Tibaldstone* the spellings pointing to *þeodbeald* are undoubtedly in a majority, but for all that we do not hesitate to derive the name of the place from an O.E. \**Tīdbealdstūne*. Some early forms with *e* for *i* may be due to A.N. spelling, cf. STOLZE, p. 17. Nor is loss of *d* before *b*,

as in *Tibaldstone*, F.A., necessarily, due to French influence, but may be a case of assimilation in English itself. Similar cases are *Tetbriston*, D.B., *Tibbrihtonia* (1181), Index = *Tibberton* (Sh.); *Tidbrihtingctun* (a 978), Kemble 603, *Tidbertun*, D.B., *Tibrihton*, H.R. = *Tibberton* (Wo.).

### Appendix. Orthographic interchange between *t* and *th* for etymological (t). —

Particularly in some 13th and 14th c. records we note the curious circumstance that *th* is much more often found for etymological *t* than *t* for *th*. Thus in the F.A. we find *Toft* as well as *Thoft* for O.E. *toft*, *Theversham* and *Teversham* = *Teversham* (Cb.) etc. Similar instances occur also in the Index, e.g. *Thateshale* (1304), *Tatheshale* (1332) = *Tattershall* (Li.), *Stowclange-thot* (1393) = *Stowlangtoft* (Sf.). Though more seldom, *th* for *t* appears as early as in D.B.: *Toftth* = *Toft* (Cb.); *Bagathora*, Exon D.B., *Bagatora*, Exch. D.B. = *Bagtor* (Dv.) < O.E. *tor(r)*, Mdf., p. 135, etc. — *th* for O.E. *t* has, moreover, been noted in English place-names from many O.Fr. texts. For instances see WESTPHAL, p. 17. Rhymes like *north*: *Oxenford*, Gaimar, v. 5076, etc. indicate that this *th* was pronounced (t).

In our opinion this confusion between *th* and *t* is partly due to the inability of the Normans to pronounce English (þ). Initial *th* as an orthographical symbol was known in the French language, where it had the value of (t). Cf. SWEET, H.E.S. § 600, N.E.Gr. § 380. This accounts for the use of *th* = (t) in early texts as D.B. In the 13th and 14th cent. the interdental spirant was lost in A.N. in all positions. The great inconsistency in the use of *t* and *th* in records from that time may be due to the vain attempts of the Norman scribes to keep the two sounds orthographically apart. It is, however, very curious that at least in the 14th cent. records *th* is much more often used for *t* than *t* for *th*. Under such circumstances the most probable explanation of the interchange would perhaps be that *th* was used: (1) to denote (þ); (2) alternating with *t* to denote (t).

WESTPHAL, p. 18, assigns a special phonetic value to the symbol *th* for *t* in the Engl. place-names of the O.Fr. chronicles. He is of opinion that *h* is put after *t* as a diacritic mark to distinguish the Engl. aspirated (t) from the French one. This cannot very well be correct, for *t* and *th* are interchangeable

also in the spellings of French place-names. Any number of instances might be adduced, but the following will suffice: *Avrehuth* (1170), *Averhout* (1139) = Avroult (Pas de Calais), see A. DE LOISNE, *Les formes originales des noms de lieu du P. de C.*, p. 6; *Torigné*, *Thorignie*, Benoit, v. 33641; *Tiergeville* (1308), *Thiergeville* (1338) = Tierceville (Eure); *Tylli* (1293), *Thilly* (14 c.) = Tilly (Eure); *Totteneium* (1061), *Thonaium* (1186), *Toeni* (1205), *Thooniacum* (1227), *Thoëneium* (1239), *Thony* (1392), *Tony* (1419) = Tosny (Eure). See Dic. Topogr. de l'Eure. Cf. also the various old spellings of Thevray, Thibouville, and Thuit in the same Dictionary.

In many M.E. texts we also find the spelling *th* for *t*, particularly in foreign names and in words more or less directly borrowed from Greek and Latin. For examples see BEHRENS, p. 171, DIBELIUS, p. 448, KOEPEL, *Spell.-pron.*, p. 19 f.

But *th* for etymological *t* is well instanced in native words as well. Cf. MORSBACH, *Urkunden*, p. 105; DIBELIUS, p. 448; NEUMANN, p. 92 f. All these authors are of opinion that *th* is a phonetic spelling (»t + Hauch«, Morsb.; »eine stark aspirierte Aussprache«, Dib.). We do not think it is necessary to assign any special phonetic value to several sporadic instances of *th* for *t*. The symbol *th* being used in some (= learned) words to denote (t), it seems quite natural that the same spelling should sometimes be transferred also to the native words: *winther* for *winter* analogous to *throne* for *trone*. Neumann seems inclined to adopt a similar explanation for some of his examples. Cf. p. 93, »oft mag aber bei der mannigfachen verwendung des *th*, *th* für *t* blosser schreibfehler sein.«

We must keep in mind that there was an ambiguity as to the use of *th*. To the French it was only a variant of *t*; by the English it was generally associated with the pronunciation (p, d). We know that in course of time this ambiguity led to a pronunciation (p) for a great many words in which *th* originally denoted (t). To the instances adduced by KOEPEL, *Spell.-pron.*, p. 19 f., the following may be added: (1) *Thanet* (Ke.), pron. with (p), *Tanger*. All the early forms — *Tenet*, *Tanet*, A.S. Chr., *Tenid* (a. 679), *Tanett* (a. 949), Index, *Tænate* A, *Tanate* B, *Lazamon*, v. 14737 — point to original *t*. As late as in Camden's time *t* seems still to have been kept in the pron. Cf.

CAMDEN I, p. 242, »we call it Tenet«. Our first instance of the spelling *th* is from the Ch.R., *Thanet* (1227). (2) Thame on the river Thame (Ox.), pron. with (p), seldom with (t), Tanger, *Tamu*, A.S. Chr., *Tame* (1473), Index. There is a river Tame in Staff. — no doubt derived from the same, probably Celtic, root as Thame and Thames — in which etymological *t* has been kept in spite of numerous early spellings with *th*.

### § 3. Some difficult initial consonant-combinations are altered in various ways to suit Anglo-Norman pronunciation.

In the Germanic languages there existed several initial consonant-combinations which were unknown to Romance-speaking people. In the case of loan-words such combinations were, naturally, got rid of in one way or another. Thus a vowel — generally *e* — was sometimes either prefixed to (e.g. the prothetic *e* before *s* impurum) or inserted between (= svarabhakti) the two consonants. In this paragraph a number of initial consonant-groups in Engl. place-names the pronunciation of which presented difficulties to the Normans of the 11th cent. will be dealt with in due order.

#### A. Anglo-Norman *ken, kan, kun, n* is substituted for English *kn*.

##### 1. The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.

Cannoc (St.) < Celtic *cnoc*. Cf. DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 30 f. D.B. *Chenet*. Records (12th c.), see DUIGNAN l.c. *Chnoc, Cnot, Chnot, Chenot, Canot, Canoc*. Index. *Gannok* (1245).

##### 2. The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.

1. Knapwell (Cb.) < O.E. *Cnapa*; cf. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns of Cb., p. 36. 2. Knutsford (Ch.) < O.E. *Cnut*, Searle. 3. Knowlton (Do.) < O.E. *cnoll*, Mdf., p. 28. 4. Church Knowle (Do.) < O.E. *cnoll*. 5. Knowston (Do.) < O.E.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 387: — »Le développement d'une voyelle entre deux consonnes se produit dans différentes circonstances. Il a lieu tout d'abord dans les mots étrangers qui renferment des combinaisons de sons insolites.»

<sup>2</sup> Cannoc Chase formerly contained a castle and hunting-seat; BARTHOLOMEW.

*Cnut*. 6. Knighton (Dv.) < O.E. *cnihht*. 7. Knowle (Ha.) < O.E. *cnoll*. 8. Knapp (Ha.) < O.E. *cnap*, Mdf., p. 28. 9. Knebworth (Ht.) < O.E. *Cnebbu*; cf. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Ht., p. 56. 10. Knaith (Li.). 11. Knapton (Nf.) < O.E. *cnap*. 12. Kneesal (Nt.), perhaps < O.E. *cnēo*; cf. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 26. 13. Knightley (St.) < O.E. *cnihht*. 14. Knook (Wl.)? < Celtic *cnoc*. 15. Knaresborough (Yo.). 16. Knarford (Yo.) now lost; cf. SKAIFE, The Survey of the county of York etc. 17. Kneeton (Yo.)? < O.E. *cnēo*. 18. Knottingley (Yo.).

D.B. *Chenepewelle*<sup>1</sup>, *Cunetesford*<sup>2</sup>, *Chenoltune*<sup>3</sup>, *Chenolle*<sup>4</sup>, *Cnolle*<sup>4</sup>, *Chenudestane*<sup>5</sup>, *Chenistetone*<sup>6</sup>, *Chenol*<sup>7</sup>, *Chenep*<sup>8</sup>, *Chenepeworde*<sup>9</sup>, *Cheneide*<sup>10</sup>, *Ranaptone*<sup>11</sup>, (R error for K), *Chenistelei*<sup>18</sup>, *Cunuche*<sup>14</sup>, *Chenaresburg*<sup>15</sup>, *Kenares*, *Neresforde*<sup>16</sup>, *Naton*<sup>17</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Kneshala*<sup>12</sup>. Pontefract Ch. *Nottinglaiam*<sup>18</sup>. Yo.P.F. *Gnareburc*<sup>15</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Kneye*<sup>10</sup>, *Cnaresburg*<sup>15</sup>, *Nottingleya*<sup>18</sup>. Index. *Knapeton*<sup>11</sup>, *Keneshale*<sup>12</sup>, *Knyhttesle*<sup>18</sup>. R.B. *Canardesburgus*<sup>15</sup>. T.N. *Knolton*<sup>3</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Knolton*<sup>3</sup>, *Knouston*<sup>5</sup>, *Kneith*<sup>10</sup>. La. Recs. *Knottesford*, *forth*<sup>2</sup>. Yo. N.V. *Kneton*<sup>17</sup> (1316).

The group *kn*, which was unfamiliar to French ears, is regularly turned into *ken*, *kan* etc. also in Germanic loan-words. Examples are adduced by MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 18; NYROP, Gramm. § 494. The name of a place in Normandy, Canapville, *Canapevilla* (1196), is traced back by JORET, p. 64, to Scand. *knappr*. — As far as we know, loss of *k* has not been noted in the Germanic loan-words.

The French forms have prevailed only in the case of Cannoc < *cnoc*, which with vowel-insertion and change of suffixes appears in D.B. as *Chenet*. That the Normans substituted the well-known diminutive suffix *-ot*, *-et* for the unfamiliar *-oe*, is by no means astonishing. Cf. Introduction, p. 12. In the 13th cent. the native ending was restored, while the parasitic vowel was kept.

Later loss of *k* in the combination *kn* must, of course, be kept strictly apart from the early instances we have ascribed to French influence. In the latter case loss of *k* is sporadical, and *k* reappears in later spellings.

NOTE. Though O.E. *Cnut* appears as *Chenut* etc. in D.B., this French form never prevailed in the place-names. On the other hand *Cnut* the Great, the famous Danish king who in the beginning of the 11th cent. extended his rule also to England, is spoken of in modern works of history both as

Cnut and Canute, pron. (kənjuwt), Tanger. With reference to these double forms FREEMAN I, p. 399, makes the following reflections: — 'Cnut or Cnud is this king's true name, and the best Latin form is *Cnuto*. The form *Canutus* seems to have arisen from Pope Paschal the Second's inability to say *Cnut*.' Pope Paschal was certainly not alone in mispronouncing this difficult word. Canute is obviously a French rendering of the true English form, as it appears in the A.S. Chr., *Knut*, or in Rob. of Brunne, *Knout*, p. 45. We have noted the French form in Langtoft, *Kanute*, *Kanutus*, I, p. 354, p. 368, and in Mousket, *Konus*, v. 15309.

## B. Anglo-Norman *wer*, *war*, *r* is substituted for English *wr*.

1. Wrenbury (Ch.) < O.E. *wrenna*, Mdf., p. 153. 2. Wroxall (Ha.); cf. *Wrocces heal*, Kemble 768. 3. Wragby (Li.), probably < O.E. *wearg*, Mdf., p. 147. Wragholm (Li.) appears as *Wargholme* (1295), Index. 4. Wrawby (Li.)? < O.E. *wearg*. 5. Wrangle (Li.); cf. *on wrangan hylle*, Birch 801. 6. Wretham (Nf.). 7. Wramplingham (Nf.). 8. Wroxeter (Sh.). 9. Wrington (Sm.) < O.E. *Wrington*, Kemble 338. 10. Wraxall (Sm.). 11. Easwrith Hundred (Ss.) < O.E. *wriþ*, *wrid*, Mdf., p. 153. 12. Wraxhall (Wl.).

D.B. Wareneberie<sup>1</sup>, Warochesselle<sup>2</sup>, Waragebi<sup>3</sup>, Waragebi<sup>4</sup>, Weranghe<sup>5</sup>, Wret-, Weretham<sup>6</sup>, Wan-, Waranplincham<sup>7</sup>, Rochecestre<sup>8</sup>, Weriton<sup>9</sup>, Werocosale<sup>10</sup>, Esweride<sup>11</sup>, Werocheshalle<sup>12</sup>.

12th c. — Index. Warkebi<sup>3</sup>, (Hen. II.), Wraggebi<sup>3</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. Wragheby<sup>3</sup>, Wrangle<sup>5</sup>. H.R. Wraggeby<sup>4</sup>, Wroccet<sup>3</sup>, Es-wrythe<sup>11</sup>, Esewrith<sup>11</sup>. Sm.K.Q. Wroxhall<sup>10</sup> (1284). T.N. Wraggeby<sup>4</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. Wraggeby<sup>3</sup>, Wragheby<sup>4</sup>, Wrauby<sup>4</sup>, Wrotham<sup>6</sup>, Wramplingham<sup>7</sup>, Wroccestre<sup>8</sup>, Wryngton<sup>9</sup>. Index. Wrangel<sup>5</sup>, (1302), Wroxhale<sup>10</sup> (1331).

Instances of vowel-insertion between *w* and *r* in Germanic loan-words are noted by NYROP, Gramm. § 494, and MACKEL, p. 184. Loss of *w* does not seem to have taken place in loan-words.

In this particular case the French forms enjoyed a very brief existence. We have not found them anywhere but in D.B.

## C. Anglo-Norman *l*, *m*, *n*, *sel*, *sen* is substituted for English, *sl*, *sm*, *sn*.

1. The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.

Nottinghamshire, Nottingham (Nt.) < O.E. *Snotingaham*, -scir, A.S. Chr.

D.B. *Snoting'scire*, *Snoting*-, *Snotingeham*. Pi.R. *Notingeham* (1131). Index. *Notingeham* (1153). Florence of Wo. (Mon. Brit.). *Snotingaham* (MSS. 12c.). Symeon of Du. (Mon. Brit.). *Snotingaham* (MS. 12c.). Henry of Huntingdon (Mon. Brit.). *Snotinghamscire*, *Snotinga*-, *Notingeham* (MSS. 13 and 14c.). MS. Jesus Coll. Oxford (O.E. Miscellany, E.E.T.S. 49), *Snotingham* (13c.). Le. Recs. *Snotyngham* (1353), *Notingham* (1336). Index. *Notingham* (1304). Capgrave. *Notingham*, p. 101.

## 2. The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.

1. Snelson (Ch.); cf. *Snelles cumb*, Kemble 1052. 2. Sleaford (Li.) < O.E. *Sliowaford*, A.S. Chr., *Slioforda*, Thorpe<sup>1</sup>. 3. Snarford (Li.), perhaps connected with M.E. *snart*, adj. severe, used as a personal name. 4. Snettisham (Nf.)? < O.E. *snytre*, adj., wise, used as a personal name. 5. Snoring (Nf.). 6. Smithdon (Nf.) < O.E. *smēþe*; cf. *on smeþandune*, Birch 748. 7. Sneinton (Nt.) < O.E. \**Snotingatun*<sup>2</sup>. 8. Slingsby (Yo.).<sup>3</sup> 9. Sledmere (Yo.), perhaps < O.E. *sled*, Mdf., p. 117<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There are no less than three places with that name in Linc, viz. Sleaford, New Sleaford, and Old Sleaford. For the two latter the French forms were still in use as late as the 18th cent. In Magna Britannia the places in question are called *Sleford* (Flaxwell Hundred), *Lafford*, and *New Lafford* (Ashwarden Hundred). It is interesting to note that in the F.A. Old Sleaford appears in 1316 as *Vetus Lafford*, and in 1401 as *Sleaford*. The Hundreds of Ashwarden and Flaxwell are contiguous, and the three places are situated on the boundary. — At Sleaford there are ruins of an old castle famous in Norman times.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot refrain from quoting here the following interesting note on Sneinton from Vict. Hist. of Nt., p. 245: — 'There are a few difficult questions of identification in the Nt. D.B., one of which has the rare distinction of being raised in a mediæval law-suit. In 1285 the lords of Sneinton were impleaded by the men of the vill on the ground that, while Sneinton was ancient demesne of the crown, they had increased the rent due from tenements there (etc.). In reply it was urged that Sneinton was no ancient demesne, upon which D.B. was ordered to be searched, when *Notintone* was found to be duly entered on the king's land. In 1287 a jury found that Sneinton was always called by that name, and that *Notintone* was part of Nottingham. However, as in documents of the time the name appears as *Snotintone* or *Snadinton*, we need not attach much weight to the jury of 1287.'

<sup>3</sup> We have, moreover, found two entries of the French form used as a pers. name, viz. *Lengebi* (13c.), Yo. I.P.M., and *Lengebi* (1301), Yo. S.R. — In the vicinity is Slingsby castle, a ruined fortress built in the 11th cent; BARTH.

<sup>4</sup> We do not hesitate to consider *Ledemare* and *Slidemare*, D.B., as identical. Both are entered under East Riding, the former in Dickering, the

D.B. *Senelestune*<sup>1</sup>, *Eslaforde*<sup>2</sup>, *Snardes*, *Snerteforde*<sup>3</sup>, *Netesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Snes*, *Snetesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Esnaringa*<sup>5</sup>, *Snaringa*<sup>5</sup>, *Metheduna*<sup>6</sup>, *Smetheduna*<sup>6</sup>, *Smeze*, *Smetheduna*<sup>6</sup>, *Notintone*<sup>7</sup>, *Eslingesbi*<sup>8</sup>, *Selungesbi*<sup>8</sup>, *Ledemare*<sup>9</sup>, *Slidemare*<sup>9</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Laford*<sup>2</sup> (Hen. II.), *Narteford*<sup>3</sup> (1163). Li.S. *Snarteford*<sup>3</sup>. Sempringham Ch. *Lafford*<sup>2</sup>, *Slafford*<sup>2</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Snointon*<sup>7</sup> (1217). Ch. R. *Snetesham*<sup>4</sup> II, *Leddemere*<sup>9</sup>. H.R. *Laford*<sup>2</sup>, *Laffordia*<sup>2</sup>, *Snarford*<sup>3</sup>, *Sneteres*, *Sneders*, *Snetisham*<sup>4</sup>, *Naring*<sup>5</sup>, *Smethe*, *Smethes*, *Smesdon*<sup>6</sup>, *Sneynton*<sup>7</sup>. Index. *Snarteford*<sup>3</sup> (Hen. III.), *Nartesford*<sup>3</sup> (1203—05), *Slengesby*<sup>8</sup>, *Sclengesby*<sup>8</sup>, *Eslenggesbi*<sup>8</sup>, *Lingeby*<sup>8</sup>. R.B. *Lafforde*<sup>2</sup>. T.N. *Lafford*<sup>2</sup>, *Snetesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Naringes*<sup>5</sup>, *Smethedun*<sup>6</sup>, *Snenton*<sup>7</sup>. Yo. I.P.M. *Slengeby*<sup>8</sup>, *Sledemer*<sup>9</sup>. Yo. K.Q. *Slingesby*<sup>8</sup>. Yo. S.R. *Sledemer*<sup>9</sup> (1297).

14th c. — F.A. *Vetus Lafford*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Nova Lafford*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Snartford*<sup>3</sup> (1316), *Snetesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Naring*<sup>5</sup> (1302, 16), *Snaryngg*<sup>5</sup> (1346), *Naringg*<sup>5</sup> (1346), *Smethdon*<sup>6</sup>. Index. *Snoryng*<sup>5</sup> (1388), *Lengeby*<sup>8</sup> (1301), *Slengesby*<sup>8</sup> (1343), *Slengisby*<sup>8</sup> (1364). P.R. *Lafford*<sup>2</sup> (01—07), *Sleford*<sup>2</sup>, *New or Novel Lafford*<sup>2</sup> (13—17), *Sleaford*<sup>2</sup> (30—34), *Lafford*<sup>2</sup>, *Sleford*<sup>2</sup> (85—89), *Snartford*<sup>3</sup> (13—17, 34—38, 61—67), *Slyngesby*<sup>8</sup> (01—07), *Slengesby*<sup>8</sup> (48—50). R.Br. *Sleford*<sup>2</sup>. Yo. N.V. *Slingesby*<sup>8</sup> (1316). Yo. S.R. *Slengesby*<sup>8</sup> (1301), *Sleddemer*<sup>9</sup> (1301).

15th c. — F.A. *Sleford*<sup>2</sup> (1401), *Lafford*<sup>2</sup> (1428), *Snartford*<sup>3</sup> (1431), *Snorryngg*<sup>5</sup> (1428), *Naringg*<sup>5</sup> (1428). P.R. *Snetesham*<sup>4</sup> (67—77).

At the time of the Norman Conquest *s* before *l*, *m*, *n* had already been dropped, or changed into another sound. Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 529; NYROP, Gramm. § 462; BEHRENS, p. 182 f. Consequently, the combinations *sl*, *sm*, *sn* in English place-names were unknown to the Normans, and had to be altered. Sometimes a svarabhaktic vowel is inserted: *Senelestune*, D.B., *Selungesbi*, D.B.; more frequently *s* is dropped: *Ledemare*, D.B., *Lafford*, Index, *Metheduna*, D.B., *Netesham*, D.B. *Notintone*, D.B. etc.

Though *s* was mostly kept in the orthography — and even a prothetic *e* not unfrequently added — this does not prove it to have been pronounced. The occurrence of several inverted spellings decidedly tell against such an assumption<sup>1</sup>.

latter in Buckcross Hundred, which, however, are contiguous. Moreover, we find in the Yo. I.P.M. (1277) *Petrus de Ledemer* as one of the jurors for Buckcross H. In the Yo. I.P.M. *Sledemer* is incorrectly identified with a non-existent modern Ledmere.

<sup>1</sup> Also in French place-names *s* is often kept in the spelling, though it had ceased to be pronounced long before: *Esneutrevilla* (1233), *Esnitrevilla*, *Netrevilla* (1254) = Nétreville (Eure); *Esmalville* (1170) = Emalleville (Eure). See Dictionnaire Topographique de l'Eure.

We have noted the following cases of additon of an unetymological *s*, *es* in D.B.: *Esledes* = Leeds (Ke.), *Ledes*, Ch.R. I, II, *Ledes* (1316, 46), F.A.; *Snateshird*, D.B. = Neatishead (Nf.) < O.E. *Neteshirde*, *Netheshird*, Kemble 740, 785; *Slapeford*, Exchequer D.B., *Eslapaforda*, Exon D.B. = Lapford (Dv.), *Lapeford*, Ch.R. II, *Lappeford*, F.A. Cf. O.E. *Hlappawurth* (DUIGAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 90, under Lapley) = Lapworth (Wa.).

NOTE. It seems very probable that from the earliest times *s* was ignored also medially before such consonants where it was no longer pronounced in A.N. itself. In support of this conjecture the following instances of spellings without *s* may be quoted: *Chileborneford* (Hen. I.), Index = Chesilborne (Do.), *Chiselburneford* (12 c.), Index, < O.E. *cysleburna*, Birch 596; *Leinnes* (Stephen), Index (reminds of such spellings as O.Fr. *areinnad*, where *sn* > *n*, see Menger, p. 104) = Lessness Abbey (Ke.), *Lesnes* Ch.R.I., T.N., perhaps < O.E. *laes*, Mdf., p. 85; *Gowberkirche* (13c.), Index = Gosberton (Li.), *Gozeberdecherca*, *Gosebertechirche*, D.B., *Goseberkirke*, H.R. < O.E. *Gosbeorht*, Searle; *Ouberneby* (2 X), T.N. = Osbournby (Li.), *Osberneby*, H.R., F.A. < O.E. *Osbern*, Searle; *Obernestun* (Stephen), Index = Osbaston (Sh.), *Osbernestun* (12c.), Index<sup>1</sup>. — Addition of an unetymological *s* has been noted by us in *Hastlingueham*, Fr.Ch. = Ellingham (Ha.), *Meslingues* (1201), Index = Malling (Ke.), *Cameslingeham*, D.B. = Cammeringham (Li.).

A parallel to the changes the sound-combinations *sl*, *sm*, *sn* underwent in English place-names is offered by the treatment of several Germanic loan-words, adopted into the French language at a period when *s* before a consonant was no longer pronounced. Often a svarabhakti is inserted, sometimes *s* is entirely lost. For instances and references see DIEZ, Gramm. I<sup>4</sup>, p. 315; NYROP, Gramm. § 494; MACKEL, p. 34, p. 173 (svarabhakti)<sup>2</sup> — NYROP, Gramm. § 461 (loss of *s*). Here may belong also Mod. Fr *brindestoc* < Dutch *springstoc*.

Only in the case of the important town of Nottingham have the French forms gained the victory. Isolated forms with *s* are to be found as late as the 14th cent. We have already pointed

<sup>1</sup> Two instances where *s* has seemingly been dropped before *f*, may be accounted for as mere errors of the scribes, *s* having been taken for *f*: *Wafforda*, *Wesforda*, D.B. = Washford (Dv.), *Wasford* (1303), F.A. The same place in Sf. is called *Cesforda* and *Cefforda* in the Inq. El.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Fr. *sequelin* by the side of *skellin* (Godefroy) < Germ. *skilling*.

out that in the case of Sleaford the English forms have had a narrow escape of being superseded by the French.

To connect the change *Snotingaham* > *Notingaham* with the dialectal addition of *s* which is to be seen in such words as *snotch* < *notch*, *snowl* < *nowl* etc. (see RITTER, Archiv 116, p. 47), cannot be justified. The very time of the appearance of the *s*-less forms tells in favour of French influence. Indeed, *Notingham* etc. (always with loss of *s*) is the only form recorded by WESTPHAL, p. 35, in numerous examples from O.Fr. texts.

#### D. Anglo-Norman *esc*, *esp*, *est* is substituted for English *sc*, *sp*, *st*.

1. Stow (Cb.) < O.E. *stōw*, Mdf., p. 127. 2. Sturminster (Do.); cf. O.E. *Sturemupa*, A.S. Chr. 3. Okeford Shilling (Do.) < O.E. *scilling*, Sweet, A.S. Dic.<sup>1</sup> 4. Speechwick (Dv.). 5. Sporle (Nf.). 6. Stretton (St.) < O.E. *stræt*, Mdf., p. 127. 7. Stubbs (Yo.). 8. Scrayingham (Yo.). 9. Scarborough (Yo.).

D.B. *Espicewita*<sup>4</sup>, *Estretone*<sup>6</sup>, *Eistop*<sup>7</sup>, *Istop*<sup>7</sup>, *Escraingham*<sup>8</sup>, *Scringham*<sup>8</sup>, *Escringham*<sup>8</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Esparlaum*<sup>5</sup>. Ramsey Ch. *Estow*<sup>1</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Escardeburg*<sup>9</sup>, *Eschardeburg*<sup>9</sup>. Index. *Estrumenistre*<sup>2</sup> (1204?).

14th c. — F.A. *Sporle*<sup>5</sup> (1316). Index. *Esturminstre*<sup>2</sup> (1327), *Acford Eskylling*<sup>3</sup> (1303), *Okford Eschylling*<sup>3</sup> (1319), *Okford Skylling*<sup>3</sup> (1384).

At the time of the Norman invasion *s* was kept before *c*, *p*, *t*. Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. I § 468; NYROP, Gramm. 462; BEHRENS, p. 182. But the difficulty the Normans had in pronouncing an *s* impurum accounts for the appearance of a prothetic *e* before *sc*, *sp*, *st*. The distribution of this *e* in early A.N. texts renders it probable that it was added only when in connected speech a consonant immediately preceded the *s*-combination. See NYROP, Gramm. § 493. This state of things must have given rise to a general uncertainty as to the orthographical use of this *e*. It was, no doubt, often put where it was not pronounced, and vice-versa. In records of later date than D.B. it is rarely found in English place-names.

<sup>1</sup> *sk* instead of *sh*, *sch* in the forms quoted from the Index seems to be due to confusion with O.Fr. *escalin*, *eskillin* (Godefroy), *Schillingus* (du Cange) < Germanic *skilling*.

On the other hand, a svarabhaktic vowel is never inserted between *s* and *c*, *p*, *t*. This is one more proof — if proofs are needed — that *s* before *c*, *p*, *t* was still pronounced towards the end of the 11th cent. In like manner the appearance of such a vowel between *s* and *l*, *n* may be pointed to as a test of loss having taken place in the same position.

NOTE. BEHRENS' statement, p. 182, that »bereits ältere normannische und anglonormannische Hss. die *e*-Prothese ziemlich allgemein durchgeführt zeigen» is not correct. An examination of the purely French word-material in D.B. shows that *e* before *s* impurum is omitted much more often than it is put. According to BUSCH, Laut- und Formenlehre der A.N. Sprache des XIV Jahrhunderts (Diss. Greifswald 1887), p. 9, it is often neglected in many other early A.N. texts, and has not been generally accepted even in the 14th cent. Cf. also P. SCHLÖSSER, Quatre Livres des Rois, p. 71. From the modern and old forms of several place-names in Normandy we may conclude that also here the forms with *e* were not used to the absolute exclusion of the others: *Sturvilla*, (1179) = Étreville (Eure), *Torsel* (1310) = Estorsel (Eure), *Sprevilla* = Épréville (Eure), Nétreville (Eure) < *Esneutrevilla* etc. See Dic. Topogr. de l'Eure. It is a well-known fact that the prothetic *e* hardly ever appears in the French loan-words in English. This is explained by Behrens as due to English aphæresis of the Norman *e*. Without denying that such may have been the case, we will take this opportunity of suggesting another explanation. If in connected speech there was a continual interchange of forms with *e* and without, it would seem highly probable that, in the very act of borrowing, the forms without *e* were preferred by the English, as being more natural and more in accordance with their own vocabulary.

#### E. Anglo-Norman *ser*, *sir*, *sar* is substituted for English (/r).

1. Shropham (Nf.) < O.E. *scrop*, Mdf., p. 114. 2. Shrewsbury (Sh.) < O.E. *Scrobbesturh*, A.S. Chr. 3. Shropshire or Salop < O.E. *Scrobbestyrigscir*, A.S.<sup>2</sup> Chr. 4. Shrawardine (Sh.), pron. [ː shreed'n], ELLIS V, p. 183.

D.B. *Screp-*, *Scerep-*, *Serepham*<sup>1</sup>, *Sciropesberie*<sup>2</sup>, *Sciropescire*<sup>3</sup>, *Saleurdine*<sup>4</sup>.

12th c. — Florence of Wo. (Mon. Brit.). *Scrobesburia*<sup>2</sup>. Inq. El. *Scerepham*<sup>1</sup>. Henry of Huntingdon (Mon. Brit.). *Scropsire*<sup>3</sup>, *Salopscire*<sup>3</sup>, *Salopsyre*<sup>3</sup>. Pi.R. *Salopescira*<sup>3</sup> (1155).

13th c. — C.R. *Salopia*<sup>2</sup>, *Salopsire*<sup>3</sup>. Ch.R. *Serepham*<sup>1</sup> I, *Salop*<sup>2</sup> (1225), *Screwardin*<sup>4</sup>. H.R. *Salopisbur*<sup>2</sup>, *Salop*<sup>3</sup>, *Schrewardin*<sup>4</sup>. Index. *Scropham*<sup>1</sup> (1286). MS. Jesus Coll. Oxford. *Slobschire*<sup>3</sup>. P.R. *Sillop*<sup>2</sup> (72—81), *Salopesbiry*<sup>2</sup> (16—25), *Salopsire*<sup>3</sup> (32—45). T.N. *Salop*<sup>2</sup>, *Salop*<sup>2</sup>, *Srewardin*<sup>4</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Salopia*<sup>2</sup>. P.R. *Shreusbury*<sup>2</sup>, *Shrouesbury*<sup>2</sup>, *Salop*<sup>2</sup> (91—96), *Shrouesbury*<sup>2</sup> (1399—1401).

15th c. — Capgrave. *Schreuisbury*<sup>2</sup>, p. 282, *Schrovysbury*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157. I.P.M. *Salop*<sup>2</sup>. P.R. *Salop*<sup>2</sup>.

The combination (fr) presented especially great difficulties. There existed no initial (f) in the A.N. dialect of the 11th cent. Hence (s) seems to have been substituted for (f). To facilitate the pron. a svarabhaktic vowel was, moreover, inserted between *s* and *r*: *Serepham*, D.B., *Sciropesberie*, D.B.

The form *Salop*, which is still often used by the side of *Shropshire*, exhibits a third A.N. peculiarity, dissimilation of *r* to *l*.

The local pron. of *Shrewsbury* is [ːsroozbri] or [ːsoozbri], with dissimilatory loss of *r*. See ELLIS V, p. 183. This (s) is hardly due to French influence. It merely reflects a change of (fr) > (sr) not uncommon in the Midland dialects. See E.D. Gr. § 338.

The peculiar appearance of *ew* by the side of *ow* in forms of the 14th c. etc. has been explained by Professor EK WALL, Jones's *Phonography* § 264 foot-note, as due to the analogy of such pairs as *shrēu*: *shrōu* etc. According to Rippmann, *Shrewsbury* is still pronounced (frouzbərī) and (frowzbərī).

#### § 4. Anglo-Norman (dʒ) is substituted for English initial (j).

##### 1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed*<sup>1</sup>.

1. Jarrow (Du.), pron. (dʒærou), *Tanger* < O.E. *gyrrum*, Bede, Sweet O.E.T. p. 564<sup>2</sup>. 2. *Jesmond* (Nb.) on the *Jess*, from which it probably has

<sup>1</sup> The symbol ȝ hardly occurs in the records we have consulted. Whether ȝ is unknown to the MSS. themselves, or the respective editors have not made any distinction between *g* and ȝ, we are unable to decide. *j* is much more usual than *i*, and, here again, it is doubtful whether this represents the original state of affairs. However, the mere circumstance that *i* does occur seems to prove that the editors have distinguished between the two symbols.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrow, the birth-place of the Venerable Bede, once possessed a famous monastery (founded in 680), of which the ruins still remain; BARTH.

derived its name<sup>1</sup>. 3. Jagdon (Sh.). 4. Jevington (Ss.); cf. O.E. compounds with *Gef-* like *Gefwine*, *Gefwulf*, Searle. 5. Jervaulx (Yo.), pron. (dʒævou), Rippmann < O.E. *eofor* and O.Fr. *val*, *vaus*<sup>2</sup>.

D.B. *Lagedone*<sup>3</sup>, *Lovingetone*<sup>4</sup>.

12th c. — Florence of Wo. *Girvum*<sup>1</sup>. Symeon of Du. *Girvum*<sup>1</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Gese*, *Jessemuth*<sup>2</sup> (88—96), *Yeverton*<sup>4</sup> (79—88), *Gevyngton*<sup>4</sup>, *Jevyngton*<sup>4</sup> (88—96). Ch.R. *Gevyngton*<sup>4</sup> (1295), *Jorevallis*<sup>5</sup>, *Jerovall*<sup>5</sup> I, *Jorevall*<sup>5</sup> II. H.R. *Gesemuthe*<sup>2</sup>, *Jagedone*<sup>3</sup>, *Gewyngton*<sup>4</sup>. I.P.M. *Jagedon*<sup>8</sup> (Hen. III.). Index. *Jezemue*<sup>2</sup>. Nb. Rolls. *Jesemue*<sup>2</sup> (1256), *Gesemue*<sup>2</sup> (1279). P.R. *Gervaus*<sup>5</sup>, *de Gerrevallibus*<sup>5</sup>, *Gyrivall*<sup>5</sup> (32—47). T.N. *Josemouth*<sup>2</sup>. Yo. I.P.M. *Jerveaux*<sup>5</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Jesmuth*<sup>2</sup> (41—43), *Gervaux*<sup>5</sup> (46—49). F.A. *Zesemuth*<sup>2</sup> (1346). Index. *Jesemuth*<sup>2</sup> (1334). Inventory of Jarrow (Surtees Soc, 29). *Jarowe*<sup>1</sup>, *Jarue*<sup>1</sup>, *Jarwee*<sup>1</sup> (1303). P.R. *Jarrow*<sup>1</sup> (27—30), *Gesmonth*<sup>2</sup> (1399—01). Yo. S.R. *Jerovallis*, *-walle*, *-valle*<sup>5</sup> (1301).

15th c. — I.P.M. *Jevyngton*<sup>4</sup>. Index. *Jesmowethe*<sup>2</sup> (1421). Inventory of Jarrow. *Zarowe*<sup>1</sup> (1427), P.R. *Jesmounde*<sup>2</sup> (01—05), *Yakedon*<sup>2</sup> (01—05), *Jervaux*<sup>5</sup> (01—05), *Jorvall*<sup>5</sup> (67—77). Ss. S.R. *Jevyn-ton*<sup>4</sup> (1411).

16th c. — Inventory of Jarrow. *Jarow*<sup>1</sup> (1508), *Yarow*<sup>1</sup> (1526). V.E. *Jorevalle*<sup>5</sup>.

## 2. The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.

1. Yaxley (Hu.), probably < O.E. *gēac*, Mdf., p. 56; cf. also O.E. *Gæccleah*, *Geakeslea*, *Iaceslea*, Kemble 579, 591 etc. 2. Yawthorp (Li.) < O.E. *Iol*, *Iola*, Searle. 3. Yarborough (Li.) < O.E. *eorþ*; cf. *eorðburge*, *Eorthebyr(y)g*, Birch 758, 598. 4. Yaxham (Nf.) < O.E. *gēac*. 5. Yarmouth (Nf.) has derived its name from the River Yare, the *Garriennus* of the Ptolemy (FORBIGER, III, p. 282), afterwards called the *Gerne*, *Yerne*; TAYLOR, Names, p. 298. 6. Yockleton (Sh.). 7. Yoxford (Sf.) < O.E. *geoc*, Mdf., p. 60. 8. Yarmouth (Sf.), suburb of Yarmouth (Nf.), with which it is connected by a bridge over the Yare. 9. Yaxley (Sf.) < O.E. *Iaceslea*, Thorpe. 10. Yokefleet (Yo.) < O.E. *geoc*. 11. Youlton (Yo.) < *Iol*, *Iola*. 12. Yarm (Yo.). 13. Yapham (Yo.). 14. Yafforth (Yo.), perhaps < O.E. *ēa*, Mdf., p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> The immediate neighbourhood of the important town of Newcastle, which derived its name from a fortress built in 1080 by a son of William the Conqueror, may have contributed to the victory of the Norman forms.

<sup>2</sup> Jervaulx was the seat of a celebrated Cistercian abbey founded in 1156; BARTH.

D.B. *Lolestorp*<sup>2</sup>, *Loletorp*<sup>3</sup>, *Gereburg*<sup>3</sup>, *Iiachesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Jachesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Jakesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Gernemwa*<sup>5</sup>, *Loclehuile*<sup>6</sup>, *Gokesford*<sup>7</sup>, *Jernesmue*<sup>8</sup>, *Gernemutha*<sup>8</sup>, *Jacheslea*<sup>9</sup>, *Lugufled*<sup>10</sup>, *Lucufled*<sup>10</sup>, *Jugufled*<sup>10</sup>, *Loletune*<sup>11</sup>, *Larun*<sup>12</sup>, *Jaforde*<sup>14</sup>.

12th c. — **Index.** *Yerburg*<sup>2</sup> (c. 1160), *Jerdeburch*<sup>3</sup>, *Joscefort*<sup>7</sup> (1156). **Li. S.** *Jerbure*<sup>8</sup>. **Sf. P.F.** *Jaches*, *Jakele*<sup>9</sup>. **Yo. P.F.** *Jaforde*<sup>14</sup> (1191).

13th c. — **C.R.** *Yolthorp*<sup>3</sup> (72—79), *Gernem*<sup>15</sup> (27—31). **Ch.R.** *Jackeslada*<sup>1</sup>, *Jakle*<sup>1</sup> I, *Gernemuth*, *-mue*<sup>5</sup> II, *Yokethil*<sup>6</sup> I, *Jokesford*<sup>7</sup> II, *Yuckeflet*<sup>10</sup> I, *Japum*<sup>13</sup> II. **H.R.** *Jake*, *Jackele*<sup>1</sup>, *Yolthorp*<sup>3</sup>, *Yerdeburch*, *burge*<sup>3</sup>, *Jordeburge*<sup>3</sup>, *Jertheburge*<sup>3</sup>, *Jerne*, *Gernemuta*<sup>5</sup>, *Gernemue*<sup>5</sup>, *Yokelcul*<sup>6</sup>, *Iokes*, *Ioxford*<sup>7</sup>, *Gernemuta*<sup>8</sup>, *Jakele*<sup>9</sup>, *Yarom*<sup>12</sup>, *Jarum*<sup>12</sup>, *Yapam*<sup>13</sup>. **Index.** *Jakesle*<sup>1</sup> (1227), *Jaxham*<sup>4</sup> (Edw. I.), *Jokes*, *Jokeford*<sup>7</sup>, *Jakele*<sup>9</sup> (1296). **La3amon.** *Gernemude*<sup>5</sup> A, *3ernem*<sup>15</sup> B, v. 30543. **P.R.** *Jakele*<sup>1</sup> (25—32), *Gernemue*<sup>5</sup>, *Jernemue*<sup>5</sup> (16—25). **R.Gl.** *3arnemouthe*<sup>5</sup>, *3ermouthe*<sup>5</sup>, v. 3429. **Sf. P.F.** *Iokeford*<sup>7</sup>, *Yoxford*<sup>7</sup>, *Jerne*, *Gernemuth*<sup>8</sup>, *Iakeslee*<sup>9</sup>, *Jakele*<sup>9</sup>. **T.N.** *Jernemuta*<sup>5</sup>, *Gernemue*<sup>5</sup>, *Jernemuth*<sup>8</sup>, *Jaru*<sup>12</sup>, *Yappu*<sup>13</sup>, *Japum*<sup>13</sup>. **Yo. I.P.M.** *Yoklet*<sup>10</sup>, *Jolton*<sup>11</sup>, *Yolton*<sup>11</sup>, *Jarum*<sup>12</sup>, *Yapum*<sup>13</sup>, *Jafford*<sup>14</sup>. **Yo. K.Q.** *Jafford*<sup>14</sup>. **Yo. S.R.** *Yucflet*<sup>10</sup> (1297).

14th c. — **C.R.** *Yakes*, *Jakesle*<sup>1</sup> (46—49), *Yerdeburch*<sup>3</sup> (07—13), *Jokethull*<sup>6</sup> (18—23). **F.A.** *Iakeleghe*<sup>1</sup> (1316), *Yolthorpe*<sup>3</sup>, *Yerdburgh*<sup>3</sup>, *Yordburgh*<sup>3</sup>, *Jordeborw*<sup>3</sup>, *Yakesham*<sup>4</sup>, *Iaxham*<sup>4</sup>, *Gervemerthe*<sup>5</sup> (1346). **Index.** *Jernemuth*<sup>5</sup> (1353), *Joxford*<sup>7</sup> (1356), *Jakesle*<sup>9</sup> (1343), *Yaxle*<sup>9</sup> (1335), *Jarum*<sup>12</sup> (1327). **P.R.** *Jakele*<sup>1</sup> (27—30), *Jakesle*<sup>1</sup> (43—45), *Yakeslaye*<sup>1</sup> (45—48), *Jakes*, *Yakesle*<sup>1</sup> (77—81), *Joldethorpe*<sup>2</sup> (45—48), *Jerdeburch*<sup>3</sup> (27—30), *Jordeburch*<sup>3</sup> (45—48), *Jernemutha*<sup>5</sup> (43—45), *Jernemuth*<sup>5</sup> (81—85, 1399—01), *Yokelton*<sup>6</sup> (77—81), *Yocul*, *Yokelton*<sup>6</sup> (81—85), *Yoxford*<sup>7</sup> (27—30), *Joxford*<sup>7</sup> (43—45), *Jakeslee*<sup>9</sup> (43—45). **R.Br.** *Germue*<sup>5</sup>, *Gernemeue*<sup>5</sup>, *mue*<sup>5</sup>, p. 252. **Sf. P.F.** *Yoxforde*<sup>7</sup>, *Jernemuta*<sup>8</sup>, *Jakesle*<sup>9</sup>, *Yakesle*<sup>9</sup>. **Sf. S.R.** *Jernemutha*<sup>8</sup> (1327). **Yo. N.V.** *Yafforde*<sup>14</sup>. **Yo. S.R.** *Yiolton*<sup>11</sup>, *Yolton*<sup>11</sup> (1301), *Jarum*<sup>12</sup> (1301), *Jafforde*<sup>14</sup> (1301).

15th c. — **Capgrave.** *Yermoth*<sup>5</sup>, p. 208. **F.A.** *Iakesle*<sup>1</sup> (1428). **I.P.M.** *Yaxle*<sup>9</sup> (Hen. VII.). **Index.** *Yermouth*<sup>5</sup> (1464), *Jernomewth*<sup>5</sup> (1420), *Yakesle*<sup>9</sup> (1412). **P.R.** *Yakyslee*<sup>1</sup> (01—05), *Yarbourgh*<sup>3</sup> (61—67), *Yerburgh*<sup>5</sup> (67—77), *Jernemuth*<sup>5</sup> (01—05), *Jernemouth*<sup>5</sup>, *Yermoth*<sup>5</sup> (61—67), *Yoxford*<sup>7</sup>, *Jernemuth*<sup>8</sup> (1467—77). **Sf. P.F.** *Yarmouth*<sup>8</sup> (1404), *Jernemuth*<sup>8</sup>, *Yarmouth*<sup>8</sup> (1434), *Yakesle*<sup>9</sup>.

In the earliest O.E. Germanic initial *g* had been fronted before primitive front vowels, and was soon levelled under O.E. (j) < Germanic *j*. Cf. O.E. spellings like *gung* by the side of *iung*, and *ieces*, *iarwan* alternating with *3eaces*, *3earwian*. Cf. SWEET, H.E.S. § 543 f. The value of both was, no doubt, that of a palatal spirant (j). Cf. SIEVERS, *AgS. Gramm.* § 211; CHADWICK, *Studies in O.E.*, p. 170 ff. Another source of O.E. initial

(j) was *ja*, *jo* < *ea*, *eo*. See SIEVERS, Ags. Gramm. § 34 Anm., § 212 Anm. 2.

Initial (j) was unknown to the Normans, for though Latin *g* had been fronted before *a*, *e*, *i*, the result of the development was O.Fr. (dʒ), which sound was kept till towards the beginning of the 13th cent. Cf. NYROP, Gramm. §§ 423, 424. In like manner Latin *j* before *a*, *e*, *i* had been developed to (dʒ). Cf. NYROP, Gramm. § 469.

Consequently, when the Normans had to pronounce initial (j) in English place-names, this sound had to be modified in some way or other. Here two possibilities might easily offer themselves. Such a combination as (je) might be replaced by either (ie), or (dʒe)<sup>1</sup>. In D.B. spellings like *Iiachesham*, on the one hand, and *Jernesmuwa*, *Gernemwa*, *Gokesford*, on the other, *I* and *J*, *G* may very well be taken to denote the sounds (i) and (dʒ), respectively. We believe STOLZE, p. 46, to be wrong in assigning the value of [g], [j] to the above-mentioned spellings. Where in purely French texts like — to take one instance — Langtoft's Chronicle such forms occur as *Gernemue*, II, p. 195 = Yarmouth (Nf.), *g* was here certainly not pronounced differently from *g* in *geter* (= Mod.Fr. *jeter*). And from a linguistic point of view we have to look upon D.B. as an essentially Norman and French work<sup>2</sup>.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the change of (j) > (dʒ) appears also in loan-words in French itself. Cf. NYROP, Gramm. § 469. In support of our theory we will, moreover, draw attention to a number of half popular French words in which for a long time the pronunciation (i) + a vowel interchanged with that of (dʒ) + a vowel: — »Pour les mots qui commençaient par HIA ou HIE, on a hésité longtemps entre *hia*-, *hié* et *ja*-, *jé*: HycíNTHUS > hyacinthe, jacinthe (etc.) L'usage s'est déterminé pour la forme savante dans les mots les plus

<sup>1</sup> The substitution of (dʒ) for (j), and vice-versa, is a very natural one. Many Swedes, when speaking English, are apt to replace the unfamiliar English combination (dʒ) by Swedish (j).

<sup>2</sup> When, for instance, it is pointed out by VAN DER GAAF, Engl. Studien 39, p. 282 f., that O.E. final *d* and *ng* in D.B. often appear as *t*, *nc*, this is only one more A.N. feature, and does not justify us in concluding that final *d* and *ng* had been unvoiced in the corresponding O.E. dialects.

rare, tandis que la forme populaire a été adoptée dans les mots les plus usités»; NYROP *ib.* Here we are expressly told that the forms in (d<sub>3</sub>) were the more popular ones, and it is, indeed, not impossible that also *i* in D.B. denotes this sound<sup>1</sup>.

The modern pronunciation of Jarrow etc. is our best test of French influence. (d<sub>3</sub>) < (j) cannot well be due to internal English sound-development. As far as we know, (j) was never developed to (d<sub>3</sub>) either in literary English or in the dialects. The occurrence of (d<sub>3</sub>) in districts so widely separated as Sussex and Yorkshire also tells against the assumption of dialectal influence.

As to the M.E. forms, we consider those in *y* to represent the native pronunciation (j), those in *g* (supposing the editors have properly distinguished between *g* and *ɝ*), *j*, and possibly also *i* to indicate the French pronunciation (d<sub>3</sub>)<sup>2</sup>. The distinction between *ɝ* = (j) and *g* = (g, d<sub>3</sub>) is well kept up in most M.E. MSS. after the year 1200. Cf. WYLD, *Guttural sounds*, p. 150. Though in some early texts *i* was sometimes employed to denote (j), it never became popular in this use. Cf. SWEET H.E.S. § 608. *j* = (j) we have noted only in a few isolated cases: *burje*, Lazamon B, v. 4264; *jate*, Hoccl.; *jondur*, Egl. (Stratmann-Bradley.). In French loan-words (d<sub>3</sub>) is denoted by *g*, *j*, *i* (more seldom *y*) from the earliest times. Cf. BEHRENS, p. 177; HÖVELMANN, p. 75 ff.; NEUMANN, pp. 78, 80, 81, 97.

The French forms in *j*, *g* are of comparatively rare occurrence in late M.E. records. An examination of the first three volumes of the F.A. shows that, in addition to the cases given in the lists, *g* and *j* are to be found only in *Gyvelden* = Yelden (Bd.), *Jerdel* = Yardley (Es.), *Gelham* = Yealdham (Es.) and *Gilling* =

<sup>1</sup> Thus much is certain, that the symbols *I* and *J* in D.B. were often used to denote the same sound. The two are very much alike, and one is frequently put for the other. Cf. the facsimile ed.

<sup>2</sup> From the evidence of such spellings as *Gilvertoft*, *Chelveristoft*, *Jelveristoft* Cat. A.D. = Yelvertoft (Np.), *Yelvertoft* (always), F.A., we may also conclude that *j* really was pronounced (d<sub>3</sub>), *ch* being a rare variant of *g*, *j* in French loan-words. Examples are adduced by BEHRENS, p. 177; HÖVELMANN, *Zum Konsonantismus der altfranz. Lehnwörter etc.* (Diss. Kiel 1903), p. 77; DIBELIUS, p. 456. For A.N. instances see STIMMING, p. 237; MENDER, p. 99.

Yelling (Hu.). This latter place is called *Gellyng* alias *Yellinge* in the Index as late as 1545. The 15th cent. forms of list 2 exhibit *j*, only for Yarmouth (Nf.), where owing to the considerable importance of that place French forms were more likely to persist.

To the five places mentioned in list 1, where in our opinion *j* = (d<sub>3</sub>) is due to A.N. sound-substitution, may possibly be added Jedburgh (Roxb.) called *Jedworth* and *Gedworth* in old records (see TAYLOR, Names, p. 156), and Gerse Hill (Gl.), the early forms of which (*Yerdeshull*, 1303, *Zerdeshulle*, 1346, *Jerdushulle*, 1402, F.A.), point to O.E. *zeard*. We do not know if here *g* is pronounced (d<sub>3</sub>).

The modern form of Jesmond exhibits one more, as it would seem, A.N. peculiarity. The original suffix- *mouth* has been replaced by *-mond*. Whether this *-mond* is equal to A.N. *mont*, *mond* < Lat. *montem* — possibly suggested by such a spelling as *Gesmonth*, where *n* is a mistake for *u* — or represents an introduction of the word *mond* = mouth of a river, we cannot decide <sup>1</sup>.

Of particular interest is Jervaux (Yo.), for here we can follow the various phases of A.N. influence, the etymology of the place being quite certain. From its situation on the Ure we may safely infer that Jervaux is equal to English Yordale, Barth. = the valley of the Ure <sup>2</sup>. Ure for *Yore* is quite a modern spelling, not used until *ūr* had been levelled under *ōr*. The following old forms of the river are on record: *Jor* (Hen. II.), Index, *Eowere* (Hen. III.), Index, *Yore Aqua*, H.R., *Aquam de Yore* (1327), SKAIFE, The Survey of York etc., *Yore* (1399—1401, 1467—77), P.R. The etymology is obviously O.E. *eofor*, -e, and there is strong reason for believing that the name of the river is identical with the first element of O.E. *Eoforwic*, A.S. Chr., = York. The city of York is situated on the Ouse, which is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COCHERIS, Origine et form. des noms de lieu, p. 23: — «Le mot embouchure se dit mund en allemand, mond en flamand et mouth en Anglais: Deulemont (Nord) à l'embouchure de la Deule; Tenremonde (Belgique) à l'embouchure de la Dendre.

<sup>2</sup> In like manner the adjacent Rievaulx (= the valley of the Rye with R. Abbey has derived its name from the River Rye, on which it is situated.

formed by the confluence of the Ure and the Swale. In some way or other *Eofore* became *Yore*, which was turned into *Jore* by the Normans. Hence such forms as *Jorevallis*, *Jorevall*. After this, pretonic *o* was changed to *e*: *Gerrevallibus*, and, with later syncope of the second *e*, *Gervaus*. The appearance of *e* for *o* may be due to the influence of the following *e*. For A.N. instances of *o* for *e* owing to assimilation, or *e* for *o* owing to dissimilation, see STIMMING, p. 177, p. 191. Analogical transformation after numerous French place-names in *Ger-* may also have been the cause of this change.

NOTE. In this place we will devote a few lines to a discussion of the etymology and development of York < O.E. *Eoforwic* A.S. Chr. By most authorities (CAMDEN II, p. 876; TAYLOR, Names, p. 299 f.; MADDEN, *Lazamon* III, p. 315) this city is supposed to have derived its name from the river Ure. We do not know if any historical evidence can be adduced in support of this theory; if not, it seems to us more probable that the river has been named after the city. Taylor's argumentation is utterly wrong. He thinks that York is an analogous case to the French place Ivry (Eure) named after the Eure < *Ebura*, on which it stands. But the earliest forms of the Eure are *Audura*, *Authura*, and in Voltaire's *Henriade* *Eure* rhymes on *nature* (cf. Dic. Topogr. de l'Eure), so it is, or was at least formerly, pronounced with *y* < *ū*. The form *Ebura* recorded in the year 1236 is merely an instance of false etymological spelling.

By the Romans York was called *Ebur-*, *Eboracum* (cf. FORBIGER III, p. 279) < Celtic *Eburus*, a personal name, + the Celtic suffix *-acum* = 'the abode of *Eburus*' (cf. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Revue Celtique* VIII, p. 112, p. 134), which, owing to the fact that intervocalic *b* in late Latin was pronounced *v*, easily might have been turned into *Eoforwic* by the Saxons.

In the above-mentioned work by Taylor we are told that *Eoforwic* was changed into *Jórvík* by the Danes, and this seems, indeed, to have been the case. Professor Finnur Jónsson of Copenhagen has kindly informed me that the form *Jórvík* appears in *Knúts drápa* (c 1040), v. 11 and, about a hundred years earlier, in another Icelandic poem called *Arinbjarnardrápa* by Egill Skallagrímsson. According to NORÉEN, *Altisl. und Altnorweg. Gramm.* § 227, 2, *jór* is a contraction of *eofor*. The city of York was one of the principal Danish settlements in England, and the seat of the Danish jarl. On the stage \**Yorik(e)* < *Jórvík* contraction to York has taken place.

The first time we have found the present form is in the following interesting passage from *Lazamon* A, vv. 2662—73: —

*Ærest he makede ane burh;  
 & Kaer Ebrauc heo clepede.  
 Ða oðer on are dune;  
 Adud he heo hahte.  
 Ða heo wes icleped Kaer Ebrauc;  
 seððen wes icleped Eborac.  
 Seoððen comen uncuðe men;  
 & Eoverwic heo hahten.  
 & Ða norþerne men;  
 nis hit nawiht zeare.  
 Ðurh ane unþewe;  
 zeore (zorc) heo ihæhten.*

MADDEN, l.c., draws attention to the following lines from R.Gl. (ed. HEARNE, p. 27): — *And suth me clefeth Euerwicke this ilke toun y-wis, And York also, thorgh light speche, y-hote also hit is.*

Robert of Brunne, p. 301, has *zork*, Capgrave, p. 264, *zork*, York; Havelok, v. 1178, *yerk*: clerk. The expression *Ða norþerne men* in Lazamon certainly refers to the people of Yorkshire, who are said to have adopted and given credit to the Scandinavian form.

According to Hope, the local pronunciation of the place is »Yark», »Yorrick».

As far as we know, the theory of Norman (d<sub>3</sub>) having been substituted for initial (j) in *English place-names* has not been advanced until now. — On French *g* = (d<sub>3</sub>) for English *3* = (j) in several names from the Ormulum cf. REICHMANN, *Die Eigennamen in Ormulum*, pp. 32 f., 50 f., 82 f.<sup>1</sup>. — In his treatise on English personal names in Gaimar RATHMANN, p. 46, in our opinion quite correctly, assigns the value of (d<sub>3</sub>) to *g* < O.E. *3* + a palatal vowel.

Several times and in various places Prof. Skeat has dwelt upon the difficulty the Normans had in pronouncing English initial (j). Cf. in particular Transactions of the Phil. Soc, 1899—1902, p. 457, p. 452; Proverbs of Alfred (Oxford 1907), p. XIV. He seems to be of opinion that the Normans either substituted hard (g) for (j), or altogether dropped it. We do not think he

<sup>1</sup> We have noted what seems to be a very curious instance of A.N. (d<sub>3</sub>) for English (j) in a Mod. Engl. surname, viz. Jung, Junge. Entries from the H.R. like *Johannes le Junge*, *Robert le Sevene*, *Ralph le Younge* (BARDSLEY, Dic., p. 438, p. 831), render it highly probable that *Younge* has been altered to *Jounge* either by French mispronunciation, or owing to the influence of the corresponding French word *Sevene*.

has succeeded in giving any conclusive proofs of such having been the case. Mod. Engl. Guildhall for M.E. *Yeldehalle* is, no doubt, best explained as due to Scand. *gildi*. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Scand. Loan-words, pp. 154, 307. — As to *Etiminstre*, D.B. = Yetminster (Do.), which is adduced to illustrate loss of (j) caused by A.N. influence (cf. Student's Pastime, p. 349), it is by no means certain that the first compound contains O.E. *ȝeat*; it may as well be derived from O.E. *Eata*, *Eating*, Searle. Cf. Yatesbury (Wl.), *Etesberie*, D.B., *Yetesbir*, Ch.R.I.; Yatton (Wl.), *Etone*, D.B. Also here (j) may depend on the change of a falling into a rising diphthong. It is, moreover, to be kept in mind that such a spelling as *eat* for *ȝeat* might occur in O.E. itself owing to the dialectal levelling of *ea*, *eo* under *ȝea*, *ȝeo*. — Real loss of (j) we have noted in *Epesuic* (12. c.), Inq. El. < O.E. *Gipeswic*, A.S. Chr. = Ipswich (Sf.), and *Ivelcestre*, *Giuelcestre* (Hen. II.), Pi.R. = Ilchester (Sm.). In our opinion this loss may be due to the dialectal development *ȝi* > *i*. Though the first instances of *itch* and *icicle* (< O.E. *ȝiccan*, *ȝiecel*) without *ȝ* noted in N.E.D. are not older than the 14th cent., *i* < *ȝi* in verbs occurs as early as in Herb. Apuleii, 12th c. (see BERBERICH, p. 30), and in the Jesus (Oxford) MS. of the 13th cent. we find *yvernesse*, *yssing* < O.E. *ȝifernes*, *ȝitsung* (An O.E. Miscellany, p. 38), and *ymstone* < O.E. *gimmstān* (ibid., p. 98). Cf. also SIEVERS, Ags. Gramm. § 212 Anm. 2.

NOTE 1. In this paragraph we have had occasion more than once to dwell upon the dialectal development *ea*, *eo* > *iā*, *iō*, which, to judge from the evidence of the early spellings of place-names, seems to have been quite usual in early M.E. For O.E. instances we have already referred to SIEVERS, Ags. Gramm. More examples and references are to be found in SCHRÖER, Die Winteney-Vers. der Regula S. Bened. (MS. c. 1225), p. XXVI. Cf. also TACHAUER, Laute und Flex. der Winten.-Vers. der Reg. S. Ben., p. 15. As up to the present this question has been paid very little attention to by English philologists, some more material calculated to illustrate the sound-change would perhaps not be unwelcome: Hartleford (Gl.), *Iorotlaforð* (a. 779), Index (probably a late copy). — Yardley or Ardeley (Ht.), *Erdelei*, D.B., *Erdeleye*, H.R. — Yalding (Ke.), *Uuest aldingis* (1072), Index., *Ealðyngge* (1411), Index. — Heapham (Li.), *Jope*-, *Lopcham*, D.B., *Jopheim*, Li.S., *Hepham*, T.N., F.A. — Earlham (Nf.), *Erlham*, *Jierlham*, D.B., *Erlham*, F.A., Index. — Easington (Nb.), *Yesington* (1346), F.A. — Edingworth (Sm.), *Yadenworth* (1316), *Edeneworth* (1428), F.A. — For Sm. the Crawford Ch., ed. NAPIER-STEVENSON, which exist in parallel versions from different times,

afford some excellent instances. To *earnes hrycg* (a. 739) corresponds *Yearnis Rygge* (15th cent. copy), see p. 55; to *eorþgeberst* (a. 739), *yeorþberst* (15th cent.), *ibid.* The River Yeo is called *Eowan* in 739, *ewyn* in the 15th cent. — Urchfont (Wl.), *Ierchesfonte*, D.B., *Erchesfont* (14 c.), Index. — Yearsley (Yo.), *Eureslage*, D.B., *Eversley*, *Yeverslay* (1301), Yo. S.R. — Yeddingham (Yo.), *Edingham* (1301), *Yedingham* (1297), Yo. S.R. — Everthorpe (Yo.), *Jurethorp*, Ch.R. I. — Arneliff (Yo.), *Erneclive*, *Gerneclif*, D.B. — In the dialects the phenomenon is widely diffused; cf. E.D. Gr. §248. The examples recorded under that paragraph, naturally, belong to different periods of the development of the language, and require different explanations. In some instances the diphthong has, no doubt, originated quite recently, in others it may date very far back. — We do not think BOERNER, *Die Sprache Roberd Mns. of Brunne* (Studien zur engl. Phil. herausg. von Morsbach, XII), p. 301, is right in assuming Scand. influence not only for such forms as *yearth*, *yarl*, but also for the whole phenomenon *eo*, *ea* > *iá*, *ió*; it has much too wide a range to admit such a general explanation. We feel convinced that this whole question, as well as that of *ʒi* > *i*, would easily be solved by means of a thorough special investigation based on the evidence of the early spellings of English place-names.

NOTE 2. The numerous forms with *L* for *I*, *J* in D.B. (*Loletorp*, *Lucufled* etc., see list 2) are merely due to orthographic confusion between initial *I*, *J* and *L*, which are extremely alike both in the MSS. of D.B. and that of the Li.S. The only difference is a small and almost invisible stroke, by means of which *J* or *I* is made into an *L*. Loversall (Yo.) appears in D.B. both as *Geureshale* and *Loureshale*. The copyist has here used the variant *G* to render what he imagined to be a *J* in the original. That the instances of *L* here in question are merely due to careless orthography is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that *L* for *I* occurs also in purely French words. Thus Ivry, a place in Normandy, is called in the Np. part of D.B. *Juri*, *Luri*. — In other records the same mistake occurs, though more rarely. Thus Yaxham (Nf.) appears in the Inq. El. as *Lachesham*, *Iakesham*, *Jakesham*. Ewhurst (Ss.) is called *Lurehest* in the Fr. Ch., and for one and the same person we find the spellings *Lagon* in Lazamon, v. 2694, corresponding to *Jagon* in Wace, v. 1583.

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## II. Changes in English place-names due to Anglo-Norman sound-development.

### § 5. *s* is lost before *c*, *p*, *t*.

#### A. In initial position.

##### 1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.*

1. Tutbury (St.), pron. [tɪdbəri], ELLIS V, p. 482, perhaps from an unrecorded O.E. \**Stutta*<sup>1</sup>, pet-name form of the numerous compounds with *Stut*. 2. Crane End or Scrane (Li.).

D.B. *Toteberie*<sup>1</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Stutesberia*<sup>1</sup>, *Totesbery*<sup>1</sup>, *Tuttesberie*<sup>1</sup>. Index. *Stutesbiria*<sup>1</sup> (1180), *Screinga*<sup>2</sup> (1158).

13th c. — Ch.R. *Tuttebury*<sup>1</sup>, *Tuttebyri*<sup>1</sup> II, *Screnge*<sup>2</sup> II. Index. *Tuttebury*<sup>1</sup> (1290). R.B. *Scrakinge*<sup>2</sup>. T.N. *Estrahinge*<sup>2</sup>.

##### 2. *The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.*

1. Spettisbury (Do.). 2. Stragglethorpe (Li.)? < *Stergar*, Searle. 3. Sturston (Nf.). 4. Stafford (St.) < O.E. *Stæfford*, A.S. Chr. 5. Stichbrook (St.). Numerous early forms, all of them with *s* kept, are adduced by DUIGNAN, *St.* Pl.Ns., p. 143. 6. Stanley (Yo.) < O.E. *stān*. 7. Stubbs Walden (Yo.) < O.E. *stybb*, *stub*, Mdf., p. 123. 8. Stapleton (Yo.) < O.E. *stapol*, Mdf., p. 123. 9. Scutterskelf (Yo.). 10. Scampston (Yo.). 11. Scrayingham (Yo.).

D.B. *Sterestuna*<sup>3</sup>, *Tichebroc*<sup>5</sup>, *Stanlei*<sup>5</sup>, *Stubusun*<sup>7</sup>, *Staplendun*<sup>8</sup>, *Codreschef*<sup>9</sup>, *Codeschelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Godreschelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Scameston*<sup>10</sup>, *Escraingham*<sup>11</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Postebere*<sup>1</sup>, *Posteberies*<sup>1</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Stichebrok*<sup>5</sup> (72—79). Gl.Recs. (*Geoffrey de*) *Stafford*<sup>4</sup> (1200), *Teffort*<sup>4</sup> (1210), *Steffort*<sup>4</sup>. H.R. *Stragerthorp*<sup>2</sup>, *Traggart*<sup>2</sup>, *Terston*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Stutsbury* (Np.), *Stutesbyr* (early 13 c.), *Stotesbur* (c. 1230), Index.

**Yo. I.P.M.** *Stobis*<sup>7</sup>, *Stubbes*<sup>7</sup>, *Scudirschelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Scotherskalf*<sup>9</sup>. **Yo. K.Q.** *Stapelton*<sup>8</sup>, *Tapelton*<sup>8</sup> (pers. name), *Scuterskelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Scothrikelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Scameston*<sup>10</sup>.

**14th c.** — **C.R.** *Stragerthorp*<sup>2</sup> (46—49). **F.A.** *Stragerthorp*<sup>2</sup> (1303), *Thragerthorp*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Thragelthorpe*<sup>3</sup> (1346). **P.R.** *Thragelthorpe*<sup>2</sup>, *Treygarthorpe*<sup>2</sup> (43—45), *Skamston*<sup>10</sup> (81—85). **Yo. N.V.** *Taneley*<sup>6</sup>, *Stubbes*<sup>7</sup>, *Stapilton*<sup>8</sup>, *Tapelton*<sup>8</sup> (pers. name), *Scotherskelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Tameston*<sup>10</sup>, *Traingham*<sup>11</sup> (in the latter two forms *T* is an error for *C*). **Yo. S.R.** *Tubbeswaldyng*<sup>7</sup>, *Scotherskelf*<sup>9</sup>, *Scameston*<sup>10</sup>.

**15th c.** — **F.A.** *Shragulthorpe*<sup>2</sup> (1401), *Spectebury*<sup>1</sup> (1428).

In the above instances we have no doubt to do with real loss of *s*, for in the very same records, or in records of about the same date, we have noted several cases of addition of an unetymological *s*. As it is not always possible to establish the O.E. ground-form of the place-names here concerned, some of the following instances ought perhaps to have found a place among the forms illustrating loss of *s*, but we trust that the distinction we have made will in most cases prove trustworthy.

*An unetymological s is added before c, p, t, th*<sup>1</sup>.

1. Tabley (Ch.) < O.E. *Tæbba*, Searle. 2. Knolle (Co.) < O.E. *cnoll*, Mdf., p. 26. 3. Totham (Es.) < O.E. *Totta*, Searle. 4. Testwood (Ha.), cf. on *Tærstan stream* (1045), Index. 5. Cliff (Ha.) < O.E. *clif*, Mdf., p. 27. 6. Toxteth (La.) < O.E. *Toc*, *Toce*, Searle. 7. Thimbleby (Li.). 8. West Tofts (Nf.) < O.E. *toft*, Mdf., p. 135. 9. Bircham Tofts (Nf.) < O.E. *toft*. 10. Itteringham (Nf.). 11. Otringhithe (Nf.). 12. Chedgrave (Nf.) < O.E. *Ceatta*, *Catta*, Searle. 13. Tharston in Depewade Hundred (Nf.). 14. Epperstone (Nt.). 15. Cliff (Wl.) < O.E. *clif*. 16. Crofton (Yo.) < O.E. *croft*, Mdf., p. 31. 17. Cusworth (Yo.) < O.E. *Cusa*, *Cussa*, Searle. 18. Crigglesstone (Yo.). 19. Tocketts (Yo.).

**D.B.** *Stabelei*<sup>1</sup>, *Stablei*<sup>1</sup>, *Sclive*<sup>5</sup>, *Stochestede*<sup>6</sup>, *Stinblebi*<sup>7</sup>, *Stimblebi*<sup>7</sup>, *Toftes*<sup>8</sup>, *Stofsta*<sup>8</sup>, *Stofsta*<sup>9</sup>, *Vtrinckam*<sup>10</sup>, *Strinckam*<sup>10</sup>, *Otringeheia*<sup>11</sup>, *Strinckehia*<sup>11</sup>, *Scatagraua*<sup>12</sup>, *Sterestuna*<sup>13</sup>, *Sclive*<sup>15</sup>, *Scrotone*<sup>16</sup>, *Scuscuurde*<sup>17</sup> (1 X), *Cuzeuorde*<sup>17</sup> (2 X), *Crigestone*<sup>18</sup>.

**12th c.** — **Index.** *Cathegrave*<sup>12</sup>, **Yo. P.F.** *Crigeston*<sup>18</sup>.

**13th c.** — **Ch.R.** *Tymele*, *Thimelesby*<sup>7</sup>, *Epereston*<sup>14</sup> II, *Crofton*<sup>16</sup> II, *Cussewarham*<sup>17</sup>. **H.R.** *Themel*, *Tymel*, *Thymelby*<sup>7</sup>, *Itringham*<sup>10</sup>, *Therston*<sup>18</sup>, *Sterston*<sup>18</sup>. **Index.** *Totham*<sup>3</sup>, *Totteham*<sup>9</sup>, *Otrigeide*<sup>11</sup> (1203). **La. P.F.** *Toxtath*<sup>6</sup> (1298). **R.B.** *Timbleby*<sup>7</sup> (1210). **T.N.** *Tockestach*<sup>8</sup> (*ch* for *th*), *Itringham*<sup>10</sup>, *Eperiston*<sup>14</sup>. **Yo. K.Q.** *Thocotes*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a Norman point of view initial *þ*, *th* was equal to *t*. Cf. § 2.

(pers. name), *Tocottes*<sup>10</sup>, *Toucotes*<sup>10</sup>, *Stoucotes*<sup>10</sup>. Yo. S.R. 1297. *Crofton*<sup>10</sup>, *Cuscewrth*<sup>17</sup>, *Krigelston*<sup>18</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Scnoll*<sup>2</sup> (1303), *Knolle*<sup>2</sup> (1346), *Terstewode*<sup>4</sup> (1316, 46), (*Ricardus*) *Sterstewode*<sup>4</sup> (1316), *Toftes*<sup>8</sup>, *Itringham*<sup>10</sup>, *Oteringhihte*<sup>11</sup>, *Chategrave*<sup>12</sup>, *Therston*<sup>13</sup>, *Sterston*<sup>13</sup> (1346), (*Ricardus de*) *Therston*<sup>13</sup>, *Sterston*<sup>13</sup> (1302, 16, 46), *Eperston*<sup>14</sup> (1302, 16), *Sperston*<sup>14</sup> (1346). P.R. *Westoftys*<sup>8</sup> (1399—01), *Crofton*<sup>10</sup> (1399—01). Yo. N.V. *Croffeton*<sup>10</sup>.

15th c. — F.A. *Knolle*<sup>2</sup> (1428), *Totham*<sup>3</sup> (1428), (*Thomas*) *Stotham*<sup>3</sup> (1428). P.R. *Crigilston*<sup>18</sup> (67—77).

16th c. — Index. *Scregylston*<sup>18</sup> (1555).

That *s* was pronounced before *c*, *p*, *t*, when the Normans first settled in England is evident from the phonology of the French loan-words in English, in which almost without exception *s* is kept in this position. Where *s* is lost, the loan is of a more recent date. In O.Fr. loss of *s* in this position dates far back. Already towards the end of the 12th cent. we find instances of *s* having been dropped or unetymologically added before *c*, *p*, *t*, and in the course of the 13th cent. the loss seems to have been completed. Cf on this, as far as details go, very difficult question, MENER, p. 105 ff.; STIMMING, p. 225 f.; NYROP, Gramm. § 462; NEUMANN, Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz. (Heilbronn 1878), p. 108 ff; W. KÖRITZ, Über das *s* vor Kons. im Franz. (Diss. Strassburg 1885).

This A.N. sound-law did not, as a rule, extend its sphere of action to the French loan-words in English<sup>1</sup>. The English place-names on the other hand have, naturally, participated in this general sound-change, and the instances of loss or addition of an inorganic *s* noted above are, in all probability, due to the circumstance that the Normans of those times could no longer properly pronounce English *s* before *c*, *p*, *t*.

<sup>1</sup> Only in a few cases sporadic loss of *s*, owing to later French influence, has been noted: *hopetall*, Machyn 255<sup>26</sup> (a. 1550—63), see DIEHL, Anglia, XXIX, p. 188, and *ametite*: *sersolitte*, Ipomedon, see KÖLBING. Inorganic *s* appears in *irritaste*, Letters of Queen Elizabeth (DIEHL, ib.). One more example adduced by Diehl, *tenstes* (= *tentes*), Machyn 158<sup>1</sup> anm., is to be compared with *mestes* (= *metes*), Alfred's Proverbs, v. 615 (ed. SKEAT, 1907), *wæstres* (= *wætres*) Laȝamon, v. 11770, and here *s* is best explained as due to anticipation of the following *s*. Thus LUHMANN, Laȝamon, p. 51.

We admit that the *s* of a preceding word may sometimes have caused addition or subtraction of *s*. Thus *Stochestede*, D.B. (for *Tochestede*) < *Wes-*, *Estochestede* = West and East Toxteth (La.); *Stoftam* D.B. (for *Toftam*) < *Westoftam* = West Tofts (Nf.) etc. When the name of the owner immediately preceded the place-name the *s* of the genitive might easily be prefixed to the latter: *Scrive* (for *Clive* = Cliff) < \**Kingesclive* etc. In like manner *s* may have been transferred from the name of the person to that of the place in such entries as *Thomas Stotham* (1428), F.A. = Totham (Es.), *Ricardus Sterstewode* (1316), F.A. = Testwood (Ha.)<sup>1</sup>.

But by far the greater part of our instances do not admit of such explanations. *Sperston* (1316), F.A. = Epperston (Nt.), *Strincham*, D.B. = Itteringham (Nf.), *Strinkeehia* D.B. = Otringhithe (Nf.) can only be accounted for as A.N. spellings indicating a pronunciation *Eper-*, *Etr-*<sup>2</sup>. And the occurrence of *Posteberies*, Fr.Ch. = Spettisbury (Do.) in some purely French charters goes far to prove that also loss of *s* is a sign of French influence. Cf. also spellings of French place-names like *Sparnascum* (1223), *Pernacum* (1257), *Pernascum* (1252) = Épernay (Marne); *Stricheium* (1189), *Trichy* (1300) = Étrechy (Marne); *Torsel* (1310) = Estorsel (Eure); *Sprevilla* = Epréville (Eure). Cf. the series Dictionnaires Topographiques.

With some hesitation we have pointed to Crane (Li.) and Tutbury (St.) as two instances of the French forms having prevailed. In the case of Crane the circumstance that all early references we have found exhibit *s* renders French influence rather doubtful. Tutbury (St.) < O.E. \**Stuttesbeorh*, -byrig seems to be one certain example. Numerous 12th cent. forms like *Stutesberia* etc. (cf. list A 1; a few more early forms with *s* are given by Duignan) undoubtedly point to original *st*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the English Sir Beves (E.E.T.S., E.S. 46, 48, 65) Beves' horse is generally called *Trenchefise*, *Trinchefis* etc. Once only occurs *Strenchefis*, and the addition of *s* is here, certainly, due to the circumstance that the preceding word ends in *s*. The whole passage runs: *Beves Strenchefis bestrit*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D.B. spellings like *Sbernestune*, *Esberneston* = Osbaston (Sh., Li.); *Stope* = Easthope (Sh.).

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Tutbury historical evidence strongly supports our theory of French sound-change. Tutbury was in Norman times a very im-

In his work on Staffordshire place-names Duignan, referring to SKEAT's *Principles of English Etym.* II, p. 234, advances the theory that *s* in the 12th cent. forms of Tutbury, as well as present *s* in Stitchbrook, are excrescent, and have originated in the same way as *s* in *splash* < *plash* etc. In our opinion such an explanation is highly improbable. — In Bardsley's Dictionary we find several pairs of names with *s* and without, which are stated to be etymologically identical: Scripps < Crips (p. 673), Spurdance < Purdance (p. 710), Sturgis < Turgis (p. 725), Pichfatt < Spichfat (p. 707), Pilsbury < Spilsbury (Ox.) (p. 606), Pickernell < Spicknell (p. 603), Snazel < Kneesall (Li.), (p. 700). In an article on movable *s* (»das bewegliche *s*»), Archiv 116, p. 41 ff., RITTER quotes all these instances, and also adds Swithold < Withold. Of Bardsley's examples only Snazel < Kneesall is by Ritter marked as dubious. In fact, Bardsley has proved the supposed identity only in the case of Cripps and Scrips, Spurdance and Purdance, which really occur in entries relating to the same person. We cannot but feel somewhat sceptical towards a theory according to which *s* has been added to personal names and place-names, in the same way as it is added dialectally to ordinary words<sup>1</sup>. For all we know, Snazel has nothing whatever to do with Kneesall. Nor has Pilsbury with Spilsbury. There is one place in Oxfordshire called Spilsbury, another in Derbyshire called Pilsbury, from which the two personal names, no doubt, have originated. The old forms we have ascertained do not show any interchange of *p* and *sp*. — Why not derive Sturgis from an O.E. \**Sturgisl*? It is true this form is not recorded, but Searle cites *Stur* and *Sturstan* as O.E. names. — Why could not Swithold be due to an O.E. name compounded with *Swith*-, e.g. *Swith-weald*, Searle, recorded as early as in the Liber Vitæ? Loss of *s* in Spichfat and Spicknell (? < *spik*, »lardum», *Spigurnellus*,

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portant place, often mentioned in the old records. Cf. the following passage from CAMDEN I, p. 643: — »Tutbury-castle (also called *Stutesbury*) formerly very large, and commanding the lower Country by its high situation on an Alabaster-hill. It was built by *Henry de Ferrars*, a noble Norman, to whom William the First gave large possessions in this County.»

<sup>1</sup> As to the question of movable *s* cf. PAUL und BRAUNE, Beiträge 29, p. 479 ff.; E.D.Gr. § 323, KRUSINGA § 363, and the above-mentioned article by Ritter.

Du Cange) may depend on A.N. sound development. In our opinion addition of so called movable *s* to personal names and place-names can only take place if the name itself or one of its elements is identical with a word which in the spoken language exhibits both forms. Thus Scripps may really be one instance of movable *s* having been added to Crips. Among the instances we have adduced of addition of *s* to place-names, movable *s* would be admissible, at the utmost, for *Scrigglestone* < *Criggles-tone*, supposing there existed in the dialect two words *criggle* and *seriggle* with about the same sense.

NOTE. In this place we want to draw special attention to a very curious and hitherto unnoticed circumstance, viz. that loss of *s* before *c, p, t* appears as early as in D.B. And this loss is not confined to the English words, it also appears in one French name: *Ricard Estormid*, *Estormit*, *Sturmid*; *Radulf Sturm*, *Turmit* (HILDEBRAND, p. 335) = Mod. Fr. *Létourmi* < Scand. *storm*, see JORET, p. 93. This remarkable form is not even mentioned by Hildebrand in his account of the language of D.B.

We are quite aware that some of the D.B. instances we have adduced in the lists heading this paragraph are open to several objections. It may be reasoned thus. *c* for *sc* and *sc* for *c* are mere spellings. Cf. the analysis of the use of *s, c, sc* in D.B., § 1, Appendix B. Other instances may be due to occasional addition or subtraction caused by the *s* of a preceding word. Lastly, loss of initial *s* is perhaps better explained as due to sound-substitution<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, two instances remain for which none of these explanations would hold good: *Strincham* and *Strinkeehia* = Itteringham (Nf.) and Otringhithe (Nf.). Moreover, loss and addition of *s* is not confined to initial position. The following examples may serve to illustrate the appearance of the same phenomena in medial position as well: *Witenesto*, D.B. = Wistow (Le.), *Wistenestowe*, T.N. < O.E. *Wigstan*, *Wistan*, Searle; *lest*, D.B. = Lathe, division of land in Kent etc.; *Otrinctun*, *Ostrinctun*, D.B. = Otterington (Yo.), *Oterington*, Yo. K.Q. and N.V., probably < O.E. *oter*, Mdf., p. 100; *Eschintone*, *Echentone*, D.B. = Eckington (Ss.) < O.E. *Ecca*, Searle; *-hert* for *-herst* is very usual in D.B. Cf. STOLZE, p. 42. One more thing is well worth mentioning here. O.E. (*χt*) in *cniht* etc. is very often rendered by *st* in D.B. Examples might be quoted from nearly every county. This also points to a weak pronunciation of *s* before *c, p, t*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There are a few rare instances of very early loss of initial *s* even in French words derived from Latin. Cf. DIEZ, Gramm. I<sup>4</sup>, p. 243, p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> Though sporadic loss of *s* before *c, p, t* is evidenced already in late Latin, this can hardly be placed in any connection with its later disappearance in O.Fr. Cf. on this point SEELMANN, Die Aussprache des Lat., p. 316; SCHUCHARDT, Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins II, p. 354 f.

From what has been said above, we seem justified in concluding that at the time when the existing copies of D.B. were written the sound-change owing to which *s* was lost before *c*, *p*, *t* had already commenced. As early as 1086 such a loss is not admissible. Consequently, we have here another proof that the D.B. MSS. are not as old as is generally supposed.

## B. In medial position.

### 1. *The Anglo-Norman forms have prevailed.*

1. Exeter (Dv.). 2. Gloucester (Gl.). 3. Cirencester (Gl.). 4. Frocester (Gl.). 5. Bicester (Ox.). 6. Leicester (Le.). 7. Wroxeter (Sh.). 8. Rocester (St.). 9. Mancester (Wa.). 10. Worcester (Wo.). Here belong also Alcester parish (Do.), Craster (Nb.), Towcester (Np.), Alcester (Wa.), of which we have found no spellings without *s*.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup> (1292). La<sup>z</sup>amop. *Axcetre*<sup>1</sup> A, v. 30865, *Glocet'e*<sup>2</sup> A, v. 16708, *Leycetre*<sup>6</sup> B, v. 2915. R.Gl. *Exetre*<sup>1</sup>, *Gloucetre*<sup>2</sup>, *Clauccetre*<sup>2</sup>, *Leicetre*<sup>6</sup>, *Roucetre*<sup>8</sup>, *Wircetre*<sup>10</sup> (cf. the Index to Wright's edition). Tax. Eccl. *Mancetre*<sup>9</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup> (07—13). Index. *Gloucetre*<sup>2</sup> (1374), *Rauseter*<sup>8</sup> (1392). William of Palerne. *glouceter*<sup>2</sup>, v. 166.

15th c. — Capgrave. *Excetre*<sup>1</sup>, p. 122, *Excetir*, p. 196, *Glouceter*<sup>2</sup>, p. 136, *Cicetir*<sup>9</sup>, p. 275, *Leycetir*<sup>6</sup>, p. 118, p. 157, *Wyscetir*<sup>10</sup>, p. 281, *Wycetir*<sup>10</sup>, p. 292. I.P.M. *Exeter*<sup>1</sup> (Hen. VII.), *Bysseter*<sup>5</sup> (1495). Nt.Recs. *Gloucetter*<sup>2</sup> (1484). Paston Letters. *Exsater*<sup>1</sup> (see NEUMANN, p. 108) *Worceter*<sup>10</sup> (ibid., p. 52), *Worseter*<sup>10</sup> (ibid., p. 87).

16th c. — V.E. *Glouceter*<sup>2</sup>, *Glociter*<sup>2</sup>, *Glocitershire*<sup>2</sup>, *Cirincetre*<sup>3</sup>, *Frowceter*<sup>4</sup>, *Froucettour*<sup>4</sup>, *Biscyt*<sup>25</sup>, *Leiceter*<sup>6</sup>, *Wroxceter*<sup>7</sup>, *Wroxcettour*<sup>7</sup>, *Wroxstor*<sup>7</sup>, *Rocetre*<sup>8</sup>, *Mancettur*<sup>9</sup>, *Worceter*<sup>10</sup>.

### 2. *The Anglo-Norman forms have not prevailed.*

1. Colchester (Es.). 2. Winchester (Ha.). 3. Godmanchester (Hu.). 4. Horncastle (La.).<sup>1</sup> 5. Chichester (Ss.).

12th c. — Index. *Gutmuncetre*<sup>8</sup> (1146—54).

13th c. — H.R. *Colcetre*<sup>1</sup>, *Hornecatre*<sup>4</sup>. R.Gl. *Wincetre*<sup>2</sup>, *Wincheter*<sup>2</sup>, *Cicetre*<sup>5</sup>.

Though owing to A.N. influence medial *s* before *c*, *p*, *t* was, no doubt, lost in many other English place-names<sup>2</sup>, the forms

<sup>1</sup> The second element originally contained O.E. *cæster*, which in comparatively recent times was replaced by castle.

<sup>2</sup> To the instances we have already adduced from D.B. may be added *Glatinbergere*, Mousket, v. 18506, *Witenehet*, Fr.Ch. = Wheatenhurst (Gl.), as

without *s* do not seem to have prevailed except in the case of *ceter* < *cester*. We have therefore devoted this section solely to the study of the *ceter*-forms. Under this heading we will, moreover, consider the further development of these forms, thus trying to define in how far their present spelling and pronunciation in general depends on English or French sound-development.

That *cester* was pronounced *ceter* is proved not only by the spellings without *s*, but also by rhymes like *Wyrcceterre*: *better*, R.Gl. (see F. PABST, *Die Sprache des R. von Gl.*, Diss. Berlin 1889, p. 136), as well as the modern pronunciation of Exeter and Cirencester.

The first instances of loss of *s*, to which we can assign a comparatively safe date, are from *Lazamon A* (c. 1220): *Axcetre*, *Gloceſ'e*, and, in all probability, also *Gloceere* (= *Gloceſtre*), v. 16482, which form LUHMANN, p. 51, marks as dubious. From this time downward *s* was certainly no longer pronounced, although it was mostly kept in the spelling. In Capgrave's chronicle the *s*-less forms are, curiously enough, the most usual ones.

It is worthy of note that some places in modern chester, as also one in -castle < earlier -caster, exhibit M.E. forms in -ceter, -cater: *Colcetre*, *Cicetre*, *Wincetre*, *Horncatre*, *Gutmuncetre*. The latter form would be a very early instance of loss (c. 1150), supposing it is taken from an original charter and not — which is more probable — from a late copy.

In his above-mentioned treatise on the language of R.Gl. PABST, p. 136, accounts for the loss of *s* in *cester* in a way quite different from ours: — »Wir können also den Schluss ziehen, dass der Ausfall des *s* vor dem *tr* einzig und allein durch das Vorhandensein des vorhergehenden *c* herbeigeführt worden ist, und dieser Schluss wird auch für das obige *auncetres*<sup>1</sup> gelten.

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also some inverted spellings like *æt Cyneſtan*, A.S. Chr., MS.D. = Kintbury (Be.), *Cheneteberie*, D.B.; *Lastus de Sutton* (1316), F.A. = The Lathe (division of land), of Sutton (Ke.).

<sup>1</sup> As to *anceter* < *ancestor* we are of opinion that the transition is due to the analogy of the numerous -ceter forms. Spellings like *anceter* appear at the very time when *cester* must have been generally pronounced *ceter*: *aunceter*, Ch., C.T., v. 6737 *aunceterez*, All. P. 2., 258 *aunceteres*, Will., v. 5132;

Wir haben es mit einer Dissimilation zu thun, die wahrscheinlich erst auf englischem Boden eingetreten ist, und die jedenfalls mit dem Schwunde des gedeckten *s* in Frankreich in gar keinem Zusammenhang steht!» In our opinion this theory is absolutely to be rejected. Instead of explaining the transition in question as due to A.N. sound-change, Pabst invents an English sound-law which has never existed. As far as we know, dissimilatory loss of *s* has not been evidenced either in Standard English or in the dialects. Cf. also POGATSCHER, *Englische Studien*, 27, p. 275. On the other hand there is nothing astonishing in the circumstance that places like Gloucester and Leicester, which were daily spoken of by many thousands of people, and which, moreover, not unfrequently were used as personal names (cf. *Joh. Leycestre* (1409), Index, *Th. Gloucetre* (1404), ib.), should be more subject to renewed French influence than ordinary words the introduction of which into the English language was long ago a »fait accompli»<sup>1</sup>.

Nearly all places in *-cester* are nowadays pronounced in two syllables. MAYHEW, *Academy*, 1240, p. 17, has advanced several theories to account for this state of things, without arriving at any definite results. It is, however, a well-known fact that in English words of three syllables the unstressed vowel of the penultimate was syncopated at various times<sup>2</sup>. Cf. LURCK,

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*auncetres*, R.Gl., p. 193 etc., see Stratmann-Bradley and Mätzner. More forms without *s* are noted in N.E.D., from which the following passage may be quoted: — »In English *ancessour* soon became obsolete: *ancestre* became phonetically *ancetre*, of which the regular form, now dialectal, is *anceter* or *anster*».

<sup>1</sup> We may point out here that owing to later French influence *s* has been lost before *t* also in a modern English surname, Grossetete = »Great-head», which in the H.R. and the K.Q. appears as *Groceteste*, *Grossetest*. See BARDSLEY, *Dic.*, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Mayhew raises the following objection: — »It may be that the pronunciation Lester stands for an earlier \**Leicester* (we have already seen that such forms are by no means theoretical) with syncope of the vowel *e* in the unstressed penultimate. But this hypothesis entails the difficulty of the retention of the historic spelling *-cester* in spite of the intervening *-ceter* stage». It is indeed, very curious that Mayhew is so astonished at the traditional spelling being kept in a language like his own, which still to a very great extent preserves the mediæval spellings. Besides, even in French *s* was kept orthographically before *t* as late as the 18th cent., when it had ceased to be pronounced more than 400 years ago.

Anglia XX, p. 353: — »Jedes einfache dreisilbige wort erleidet im lauf der englischen sprachentwicklung synkope des mittels-vokals, wofern nicht künstliche einflüsse sie hemmen, und wofern die lautliche gestaltung des wortes sie zulässt.« Consequently, *Glouceter*, *Leiceter* (etc.) were developed to »Gloster«, »Lester« in perfect conformity with the phonetic laws of the English language.

The new pronunciation is indicated by the spelling in one single case, viz. Craster < *Craucestre*<sup>1</sup>, F.A., the little Northumbrian fishing-place with the seat of Craster Tower. Here the etymological connection with *-ceter* has been forgotten, and the name of the place appears in phonetic spelling.

In all other instances the M.E. spelling has been kept in spite of the modern pronunciation: Worcester, pron. (wustə); Gloucester, pron. (glöstə); Leicester, pron. (lestə); Towcester, pron. (toistə), Rippmann.

For the following places, most of them small towns or villages, there exists, by the side of the phonetic pronunciation, another due to the influence of the spelling: Alcester, pron. (əlstə), Rippmann, (ə(l)stə), Tanger, phon. pron., (ælestə), Tanger, spell.-pron.; Rocester, pron. »Roaster«, Hope, phon. pron. (rəsestə), Tanger, spell.-pron.; Bicester, pron. (bistə), phon. pron., (baisestə), spell.-pron., Tanger; Cirencester, pron. (sistə), phon. pron., (sairənstə), spell.-pron., Rippmann. Tanger and Rippmann besides give the pronunciations (sizitə), (sisestə), which are to be considered as intermediate stages in the development Cirencester > »Cister«.

We have not been able to obtain any information about the pronunciation of Mancetter, Frocester, and Wroxeter. To judge from the previous cases, it is highly probable that there exists a local pronunciation (frəstə), (mænstə), (rəkstə) by the side of spelling-pron. like (frəsestə), (mænsetə), (rəksetə).

As to Exeter the only pron. given by our authorities is (eksetə). It is, however, by no means probable that (eksetə) represents the original local pron. Tanger gives (eksənz) < Anglo-Latin *Exonia*, as the pron. used by the inhabitants of the place, and in maps and geographical works of the 17th and 18th cent. *Exonia* is by far the more usual designation of the place. If

<sup>1</sup> Magna Britannia still has the spelling *Craucestre*.

the pron. (eksetə) was mostly used of the place not *in* the place it is easier to understand why the unsyncopeated form has prevailed <sup>1</sup>.

The names in -cester occur as personal names in many interesting, partly phonetic spellings, some of which may well be worth mentioning. The following instances are all of them taken from Bardsley's Dictionary of English surnames. We give first the modern forms, then a few early spellings: Wurster, Worcester, *Worcester* or *Worcettor* (1569), *Worster* (1619), p. 828; Lester, Leicester: *Leycester* or *Lester* (1604), p. 478; Rossiter, *Rociter* (1581), *Rossiter* (1641), p. 655.

We will now proceed to examine whether the modern spelling and pron. of the place-names here treated exhibit any other A.N. peculiarities than *s* for *ch* and loss of *s* before *t*.

*ou* in the first syllable of Gloucester is generally supposed to be an A.N. alteration of *au*. Cf. STOLZE, p. 28, and WESTPHAL, p. 16, who even compares *Glaw* > *Glou*- with *audire* > *ouir*. But the Normans were familiar with the sound-combination *au* (< *al* + cons.), so there was no reason for a substitution. Would it not be possible to consider *Glouuecestre*, D.B. etc., as a continuation of Britain *Cair Gloui*, Nennius (Mon. Brit.)? Our Latin authorities have *Clevum*, Itiner. Anton., *Glebon Colonia*, Geogr. Rav.; see FORBIGER. III, p. 289. Whether there is any relation between the forms *Gloui* and *Clevum* (for *Glevum*?), we cannot decide. This question may perhaps be settled by Celtic philologists. In many 12th cent. records *au*, *aw*, are usual spellings by the side of *ou*. The A.S. Chr. has *Gleaweceastre* and *Glowecestre*, Henry of Hunt, (Mon. Brit.) has *Gloucestre*, *Gloueeceastria*, Florence of Wo. (ib.), *Glavorna*, *Glawweceastre*, Symeon of Du. (ib.), *Glocestria*, Ethelwerd (ib.), *Gleaucestre* etc. As late

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<sup>1</sup> I think I have found at least some traces of the phon. pron. Thus, an English orthoëpist of the 18th cent. warns against the dialectal pron. *Cassel of Exter* for 'Castle of Exeter'. See FÖRSTER, Anglia XXIV, p. 116. — Hexter, a not uncommon Devonian surname, is derived by BARDSLEY, Dic., p. 379 from Exter < Exeter with addition of an inorganic *h*. The tendency to drop *h*'s is, indeed, very strong in Devon. During a stay there I have noticed it in people of very good education, whose English in every other respect was quite correct.

as in Rob. of Gloucester's chronicle we find forms like *Claucestre*, *Clauetre*<sup>1</sup>. Note that the true English form in *Lazamon*, *Gloichestre*, see § 1 p. 19, appears with *o* as well as *ch*.

To account for the development of *Cirencester* to *Cice(s)ter*, *Birencester* to *Bice(s)ter*, *Worcester* to *Woce(s)ter*, it is hardly necessary to assume French influence. The *n* of *Cirencester* and *Birencester* has been dropped owing to a general M.E. tendency. Cf. HORN, Gramm. § 224. Instances of loss of *r* before *s* are noted by HORN, Gramm. § 235 Anm. Cf. also EKWALL, Jones's Phonography §§ 583, 586<sup>2</sup>.

### Appendix. Some cases of analogical transformation on the pattern of forms in *-cester*, *-chester*.

1. *Uttoxeter* (St.). Of the name of this place we have noted the following early forms: *Wotocheshede*, D.B.; *Utukeshesstra* (12 c.), Fr.Ch.; *Uttockeshedere*, *Utukeshere* (12 c.), see DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 157; *Wittokeshather*, T.N.; *Huttokes-*, *Uttokesather*, Ch.R. I; *Ottokeshather* (13 c.), see Duignan; *Utoxatre*, *Uttoxhather*, *Uttockcester*, *Utheter* (14 c.), Duignan; *Vttokeshather* (1348), Index; *Uttoxather* (1401), ib.; *Vttexatur* (1536), ib.; *Vttoxatur* alias *Vtsetur* (1567), ib.; *Utcester*, *Utseler*, *Uttecester* (16 c.), Duignan; *Vttoxather* (1608), Index; *Utcester*, Camden.

*Uttoxeter* has been derived from an O.E. *Uttocceaster* by several authors (Camden, Taylor, Barth. etc.). Whatever the second element of this word may be, it has certainly never contained O.E. *ceaster*. The supposed O.E. form *Uttocceaster* must have been invented by Camden. As is correctly pointed out by Duignan, all the mediæval terminals point to M.E. *hather* = N.E.

<sup>1</sup> The forms in *Clau-* may, however, owe their existence to the old myth that Gloucester was once the seat of the emperor Claudius, who is said to have given it to his son *Gloi* or *Gloui*. See MADDEN, *Lazamon* III, p. 339. In the Latin history of Lanfranc (see A.S. Chr., ed. Earle-Plummer, I, p. 287) Gloucester is called *Claudia civitas*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand loss of *r* before *s* in the following early instances from D.B. etc. is, in all probability, due to French influence: *Holehest*, *Linhest*, *Eisseburne*, *Esseborne*, *Messe*, D.B. = *Holdenhurst* (Ha.), *Lindhurst* (Ha.), *Hurstbourne* (Ha.), *Marsh* (Sh.); *Luvehest*, Fr.Ch. = *Ewhurst* (Es.); *Brockehest*: *Nove Forest*, Gaimar, v. 5799 = *Brockenhurst* (Ha.); *Dosete*, Benoit, v. 14, v. 22 = Dorset. The question of loss of *r* before *s* has recently been made subject of further investigations by POGATSCHER, Engl. Stud. 31, p. 261 ff.

heather, which in place-names may have had the meaning of heath. As to the mutual relation of the words heath and heather see EKWALL, *Archiv* 121, p. 135 ff. Forms like *Uttockeshedere*, *Utozather* had, undoubtedly — in spelling and pronunciation — some resemblance to certain place-names in *-cester*, e.g. Exeter and Wroxe-ter. Hence *-cester* took the place of *-hather* in some spellings of the 14th cent. The modern pronunciation, usually (ɛksetə), Tanger, has obviously arisen from such a form as *Uttockcester*. Hope gives as local pronunciation the extremely interesting notations »Uttcheter», »Ucheter». Cf. the 14th cent. spelling *Utcheler*. We can suggest no other explanation of this extraordinary form than that it is due to a blending of A.N. *-ceter* and English *-chester*. If this conjecture is right the form *Winchetre* in Robert of Gl. is probably no scribal error, but has originated in the same way as *Utcheter*.

2. Grantchester (Cb.). The early spellings are as follows: *Granteseta*, *Grantesete*, D.B.; *Grenteseta*, I.C.C.; *Grenteshet* (1210), R.B.; *Grancete*, *Granteset*, T.N.; *Grantecel*, H.R.; *Grantecete* (1284), F.A.; *Gransete* (1302), ib.; *Grantesete*, *Grancete* (14 c.), Cat. A.D.; *Grauntcestr*' (1327—30), P.R.; *Grantecestre* (14 c.), Ramsey Ch.; *Graunceter*, *Grancester* (15 c.), Cat. A.D.; *Graunsete* (1428), F.A.; *Grawnceter*, *Graundeceter*, *Graundecestre* (16 c.), Cat. A.D.; *Grauncestor* (1549), *Grauncester* (1592), Index.

Grantchester is identified with an O.E. *Grantacæstir* by MILLER, *Quellen und Forschungen* 78, pp. 60, 61, and TAYLOR, *Names etc.*, p. 137. Even in such an important and quite recent work as R. L. POOLE, *Historical atlas of modern Europe* (1896—1900) we find, in the part called England and Wales before 1066 (by W. H. Stevenson), the same, certainly erroneous, etymology.

The first time we meet the form *Grantacæstir* in the O.E. literature is in the Latin Bede, Lib. VI, Chapter XIX, where it is related that Queen Æthelthryth's body was removed to *Grantacæstir* to be buried: — »*ascensa navi venerunt ad civitatem quandam desolatam non procul inde sitam, que lingua Anglorum Grantacæstir vocatur*». In our opinion the place Bede alludes to is Cambridge not Grantchester. On Bede's authority the name occurs again in some Anglo-Saxon charters: *into Grantanbrige*

(original of 970), Birch 1267; *in provincia Grantaceaster* (Latin version of the same), Birch 1266; *in comitatu Grantecestræ*, Kemble 907; *comitatus Grantebrigie*, Birch 872. It is, however, obvious that the locality here referred to is Cambridgeshire, not the town of Cambridge. Gaimar, when defining the extent of the Kingdom of the Southumbrians, mentions *Grantaceaster* in the following way:

*Neis la meite de Grantcestre  
i fut jadis et devereit estre; v. 1605 f.*

We need not hesitate to identify *Grantcestre* with Cambridgeshire also here. The very wording of the passage from Bede quoted above indicates that the author was not very well acquainted with the locality in question. He may have known the river *Granta*, and then added the usual *-ceaster*, applied by the Saxons to almost any place where the Romans had settled. Cf. *Lundenceaster* (see POOLE, Historical Atlas) for modern London etc.

The usual form for Cambridge, and the only one in the A.S. Chr., is *Grantanbrycg*<sup>1</sup>. After Bede's time *Grantaceaster* is used by the side of *Grantanbrige*, but only as a designation of Cambridgeshire.

In his Place-Names of Cb., p. 39, Prof. SKEAT also identifies Bede's *Grantacæstir* with Grantchester, but at the same time draws attention to a passage in LYSON's History of Cambridgeshire, where is noted that Walter de Merton gave to Merton College, Oxford, a certain *manerium de Grauntesethe*. »It has often», he continues, »been supposed that this form is only another spelling of Grantchester. Such seems to be the fact, though there may have been some confusion with A.S. *sæte*.» We believe the learned author would have come closer to the truth had he inverted his statement, and said that Grantchester is only another spelling for *Grauntesethe*. All the early forms unambiguously point to an O.E. \**Grantansæte*. From a historical point of view it is also highly improbable that the *manerium de Grauntesethe*, the little village of Grantchester with a population of a few hundred inhabitants, should be identical with a

<sup>1</sup> However, in some entries from the I.C.C. the terminal *-burg* appears by the side of *-brige*: *Granteburga*, *Granteburga*, *Grantebrigg*.

place of considerable importance already at Bede's time when, moreover, there is in the immediate neighbourhood the old Roman *Camboricum* (= Cambridge, FORBIGER III, p. 292)<sup>1</sup>.

The modern form of Grantchester has certainly originated in the same way as Uttoxeter, i.e. by false association with *-cester*, *-chester*. *Gransete* > *Grance(s)ter*, whereupon an English form *Grantchester* came to be used by the side of the French one. The difference between Uttoxeter and Grantchester is that in the former case the French form has prevailed — at least in the spelling — in the latter, the English.

3. Penshurst (Ke.), *Pensherst* (1072), Index; *Penecestre* (c. 1270), Ke. P.F.; *Penecestre* (1271), I.P.M.; *Penesherst*, H.R. *Penecestre* (1316, 46), F.A.; *Penshurst* (1343—46, 77—81), P.R.; *Penseherst* (1467—77), P.R.; *Penshurst* (1512), Cat.A.D.

The second element of this place-name is obviously O.E. *hyrst* with Kentish *e*. The confusion between (*Pen*)*sherst* and *-cester* may be accounted for in different ways: *Penserst* may have been changed into \**Pensert* (cf. D.B. forms like *Salhert* (Ss.), *Witenhert* (Gl.), as well as *Chilbehert*, Fr.Ch., = Chippenhurst (Ox.)), which subsequently became \**Pensestr* by the metathesis of *r*. There is another possibility, viz. that *s* was originally kept, and *r* shifted: *Penserst* > \**Pensestr* (cf. *Bolehestre*, D.B. = Bolnhurst (Bd.)). In this case the analogous forms were soon ousted by the etymological ones.

4. Bilchester or Bilchurst in Hawking (Ke.) is one more instance of confusion between *s* + *herst* and *cester*, *-chester*. The only old spelling we have been able to find is *Bylcherst* (1346), F.A.

5. Cruwys-Morchard (Dv.), *Morceta*, *Morceth*, *Morchet*, D.B.; *Morcestre*, H.R.; *Morcestre*, *Morceth*, T.N.; *Morcestre Crues* (1284, 1316, 46), F.A.; *Morchard* (1303), ib.; *Cruwesnorchard* (1381—85), P.R.; *Morchestre* (1428), F.A.

As to the etymology of this place-name, we can only suggest that it is due to the O.E. formula *æt þæm ortgearde* or

<sup>1</sup> After writing this, we have found the following interesting passage in Henry of Huntingdon (Mon. Brit., p. 692 a), which eminently corroborates our conclusions as to the identity of Cambridge and *Grantancæstir*: — *»Kair-Grant, id est, Granteceastria quæ modo dicitur Cantebrigia.»*

*orce(a)rde*. If our conjecture is right the *m* of the article was prefixed already in O.E. time. Macclesfield (Ch.) would be a parallel instance, supposing RITTER, Archiv 116, is right in deriving it from *æt þæm Ecclesfelde*. \**Morcerd* appears in D.B., with suppression of *r* and change of final *d* into *t*, as *Morcet*, *Morchet*. *Morcet* or \**Morcert* is turned into \**Morcetr*<sup>1</sup>, *Morcestre*, which gives origin to an analogous English form *Morchestre*.

From the above instances we have seen that the terminations of several English place-names are liable to be transformed on the analogy of the numerous *-cester*, *-chester* forms. Such a transformation may take place if the termination, in itself or owing to native or French development, shows some resemblance to *-ce(s)ter*, more seldom *-chester*. In its turn the spelling *-cester* gives rise to its English correspondence *-chester*. In two cases such forms, due to the operation of analogy, have ultimately prevailed over the etymological ones, viz. *Utttoxeter* for *Utttoxhather* and *Grantchester* for *Grantsete*.

## § 6. Loss of the interdental spirant<sup>2</sup>.

### A. In place-names containing O.E. *muþ(a)*<sup>3</sup>.

1. Cockermouth (Cu.). 2. Dartmouth (Dv.) < O.E. *Dertamuða*, A.S. Chr. 3. Axmouth (Dv.) < O.E. *Axamuþa*, A.S. Chr. 4. Plymmouth (Dv.). 5. Portlemouth (Dv.). 6. Sidmouth (Dv.). 7. Teignmouth (Dv.). 8. Weymouth (Do.). 9. Yarmouth (Ha.). 10. Portsmouth (Ha.). 11. Stourmouth (Ke.) < O.E. *Sturemuþa*, A.S. Chr. 12. Monmouth (Mo.). 13. Jesmond (Nb.). 14. Learmouth (Nb.). 15. Tynmouth (Nb.) < O.E. *Tinanmuþ*, A.S. Chr. 16. Alnmouth (Nb.). 17. Yarmouth (Nf.). 18. Yarmouth (Sf.).

D.B. *Alsemuda*, *-e*<sup>4</sup> (*ls* is possibly meant for *us* = *x*), *Porlemuta*, *-e*<sup>5</sup>, *Ermud*<sup>6</sup>, *Gernemua*<sup>17</sup>, *Jernesmu*<sup>18</sup>, *Gernemutha*<sup>18</sup>. Geld. Inq. *Alsemuda*<sup>8</sup>, *Axmuda*<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Such a shifting of *r* from one syllable to the other is very usual in the early Anglo-Latin records: *Ferdeston*, D.B. = Featherstone (Sh.); *Congrethorp*, *Cronkethor*, D.B. = Crownthorpe (Nf.) etc.

<sup>2</sup> From reasons stated below forms exhibiting A.N. (?) (t), (d) for M.E. final (þ) and intervocalic (ð) have also found a place in the lists belonging to this paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> In consideration of the great bulk of the material we have brought similar instances together under the same heading, which arrangement we hope will lead to a more comprehensive view of the whole.

- 12th c. — **Fr.Ch.** *Portesmue*, -mues<sup>10</sup>, *Monemuta*, -mud, -mue<sup>12</sup>, *Munemud*<sup>12</sup>. **Index.** *Gernemuta*<sup>17</sup> (1163).
- 13th c. — **C.R.** *Cocremuth*<sup>1</sup>, *Kokermue*<sup>1</sup> (04—27), *Cokermue*<sup>1</sup> (88—96), *Waymue*<sup>8</sup> (ib.), *Waymo*<sup>8</sup> (79—88), *Portesmua*, -muha, -mues<sup>10</sup> (04—27), *Portesmue*<sup>10</sup> (27—31), *Portesmuth*<sup>10</sup> (72—79), *Portismuth*<sup>10</sup>, *Portesmue*<sup>10</sup> (79—88), *Portismuth*<sup>10</sup> (88—96). **Ch.R.** *Cokermouth*<sup>1</sup> (1227), *Portemuth*<sup>5</sup> (1280), *Teingnemuth*<sup>7</sup> (1253), *Weymuth*<sup>8</sup> (1258), *Weymue*<sup>8</sup> (1284), *Portesmue*, -muda, -muta<sup>10</sup> I, *Sturmuth*<sup>11</sup> II, *Levermue*<sup>14</sup> I, *Tinemuda*, -mue, -muth<sup>15</sup>, *Gernemuth*, -mue<sup>17</sup> II. **F.A.** 1284. *Azemue*<sup>8</sup>, *Portlemue*, -muwe<sup>5</sup>, *Sydemue*<sup>8</sup>. **H.R.** *Derthamuth*<sup>2</sup>, *Dertemuth*, -mue<sup>2</sup>, *Azemue*<sup>8</sup>, *Portlemue*<sup>5</sup>, *Tengemue*<sup>7</sup>, *Waymue*<sup>8</sup>, *Weymuth*<sup>8</sup>, *Gesemuthe*<sup>13</sup>, *Tynemuth*<sup>15</sup>, *Gernemue*<sup>17</sup>, *Jernemuta*<sup>17</sup>, *Gernemuta*<sup>18</sup>. **Index.** *Eremua*<sup>9</sup> (1206), *Partemue*<sup>10</sup> (1231), *Portesmues*<sup>10</sup> (1200), *Jezemue*<sup>13</sup> (Hen. III.), *Gernemuthe*<sup>18</sup>. **Lazamon.** *Dertemude*<sup>2</sup>, v. 1786, *Gernemude*<sup>17</sup>, v. 30542. **Nb. Rolls.** *Gesemue*<sup>13</sup> (1279), *Alnemue*<sup>16</sup>, *Allemue*<sup>16</sup> (1256). **P.R.** *Horemue*<sup>9</sup>, *Eremue*<sup>9</sup> (25—32), *Gernemue*, -muth<sup>17</sup> (16—25), *Jernemue*<sup>17</sup> (25—32). **R.B.** *Cocremue*<sup>1</sup>, *Portesmue*<sup>10</sup>, *Sturre*, *Stormue*<sup>11</sup>. **R.Gl.** *zarnemouth*<sup>17</sup>, v. 3429, *zernemoupe*<sup>17</sup>, v. 4670. **T.N.** *Portlemue*<sup>5</sup>, *Sidemue*<sup>8</sup>, *Teigemue*<sup>7</sup>, *Portesmue*<sup>10</sup>, *Josemouth*<sup>18</sup>, *Levermuwe*<sup>14</sup>, *Jernemuth*, -muta<sup>17</sup>, *Gernemue*<sup>17</sup>, *Jernemuth*, -muta<sup>18</sup>.
- 14th c. — **C.R.** *Eremuth*<sup>9</sup> (07—13), *Yaremuth*<sup>9</sup> (41—43), *Jernemuth*<sup>17</sup> (43—46). **F.A.** *Azmue*<sup>8</sup> (1303), *Azemuth*<sup>8</sup> (1316), *Azemouth*<sup>8</sup> (1346), *Portlemue*<sup>5</sup> (1303), *Portemouth*<sup>5</sup> (1346), *Sidemue*<sup>9</sup> (1303), *Tengemue*<sup>7</sup> (1303), *Teynglmue*<sup>7</sup> (1346), *Ermuth*<sup>9</sup> (1316), *Sturmuth*<sup>11</sup> (1346), *Monmue*<sup>12</sup> (1316), *Levermuth*<sup>14</sup> (1346). **Index.** *Jesemuth*<sup>13</sup> (1334), *Jernemuth*, -muta<sup>18</sup>. **P.R.** *Teignemuth*<sup>7</sup> (1399—01), *Yaremuth*<sup>9</sup> (43—45), *Iremuth*<sup>9</sup> (45—48).
- 15th c. — **Capgrave.** *Dertemouth*<sup>2</sup>, p. 239, *Plummouth*<sup>4</sup>, p. 284, *Portsmouth*<sup>10</sup>, p. 239, *Tynmouth*<sup>15</sup>, p. 240, *Yermoth*<sup>17</sup>, p. 208. **F.A.** *Cokermouth*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Waymouth*<sup>8</sup> (1431), *Levermuth*<sup>14</sup> (1428). **Index.** *Sydemouth*<sup>9</sup> (1420), *Eruemuthe*<sup>9</sup> (1488—89), *Jesmowethe*<sup>13</sup> (1421), *Jernomewth*, -moth<sup>17</sup> (1420). **P.R.** *Cokermouth*<sup>1</sup> (67—77), *Waymouth*<sup>8</sup> (61—67), *Portesmuth*<sup>10</sup> (ib.), *Portsmouth*<sup>10</sup> (67—77), *Tyngmouth*<sup>15</sup> (ib.), *Jernemuth*<sup>17</sup> (01—05), *Jernemuth*<sup>17</sup>, *Yermoth*<sup>17</sup> (61—67).
- 16th c. — **Index.** *Yearmouth*<sup>9</sup> (1593), *Portsmouth*<sup>10</sup> (1578).

## B. In place-names containing O.E. *sūþ*.

### 1. The present forms exhibit th.

1. Southwick (Ha.). 2. Southampton (Ha.) < O.E. *Sudhamtun*, A.S. Chr. 3. Southington in Selborne (Ha.). 4. Southwell (Nt.). 5. Southwark (Sr.). 6. Southam (Wa.) < O.E. *Sudham* (1101), Index.

- D.B. *Sudwelle*<sup>4</sup>, *Sudwerca*, *-werche*<sup>5</sup>.  
 12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Suvice*<sup>1</sup>. Index. *Sudwelle*<sup>4</sup> (1130), *Sudwerk*<sup>5</sup>, *Sutwerc*<sup>5</sup>, *Suwerch*<sup>5</sup>, *Suwerk*<sup>5</sup>.  
 13th c. — Ch.R. *Suwick*<sup>1</sup>, *Suanton*<sup>3</sup>, *Suwell*<sup>4</sup>, *Suham*<sup>5</sup>, *Sutham*<sup>5</sup>. Index. *Sudwerk*<sup>5</sup> (c. 1200), *Suwerk*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. III.). T.N. *Suwer*<sup>5</sup>. Selborne Ch. *Soynthone*<sup>3</sup> (1230), *Suthintune*<sup>3</sup> (c. 1250), *Sudington*<sup>3</sup> (c. 1260), *Sudintone*<sup>3</sup> (c. 1260).  
 14th c. — Index. *Suthewell*<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. The present forms exhibit d.

1. Siddington (Gl.); *i* in the first syllable is very curious and difficult to account for. Cf., however, KRUISINGA § 235. 2. Sodington (Wo.) < O.E. *Suthtune*, *Suthinton* (a. 825, 957), Birch 386, 1007.

- D.B. *Sudin*-, *Suintone*<sup>1</sup>.  
 12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Suthintuna*<sup>1</sup>, *Suinthon*<sup>1</sup>, *Swinton*<sup>1</sup>, *Suenton*<sup>1</sup>.  
 13th c. — T.N. *Sudin*-, *Suthinton*<sup>1</sup>, *Sutin*-, *Suthinton*<sup>2</sup>. Wo. S.R. (see DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 151). *Suthintone*<sup>2</sup>, *Sodinton*<sup>2</sup> (1275).  
 14th c. — F.A. *Sotington*<sup>2</sup>, *Sodynton*<sup>2</sup>.

## C. In place-names containing O.E. *wīþþe*, *wīþig*, *wīþing*.

### 1. The present forms exhibit th.

1. Withycombe (Dv.). 2. Withington (Gl.) < O.E. *Widian dun* (a. 700), Earle. 3. Withern (Li.). 4. Withington (Sh.). 5. Withyford (Sh.). 6. Withycomb (Sm.). 7. Withypool (Sm.). 8. Withyham (Ss.). 9. Withybrook (Wa.).

- D.B. *Widcoma*<sup>1</sup>, *Widindune*<sup>2</sup>, *Widerne*<sup>3</sup>, *Wientone*<sup>4</sup>, *Widford*<sup>5</sup>, *Widcombe*<sup>6</sup>, *Imeidepolla*<sup>7</sup>.  
 12th c. — Index. *Wiernia*<sup>3</sup>, *Wihernia*<sup>3</sup>, *Widebroc*<sup>9</sup>.  
 13th c. — Ch.R. *Wichenton*<sup>2</sup>, *Witene*<sup>3</sup> I. F.A. *Widcombe*<sup>1</sup>, *Wyndinton*<sup>2</sup> (1284), *Videcombe*<sup>6</sup>. H.R. *Wydecumb*, *-ccombe*<sup>1</sup>, *Wythindon*<sup>2</sup>, *Wythyford*<sup>5</sup>. Index. *Wydecome*<sup>1</sup> (1273), *Wierna*<sup>3</sup>, *Wyern*<sup>3</sup>, *Withinton*<sup>4</sup> (1267), *Widebroc*<sup>9</sup> (1208).  
 14th c. — F.A. *Widcombe*<sup>1</sup>, *Wyndinton*<sup>3</sup> (1303), *Witherne*<sup>3</sup> (1316), *Wythinton*<sup>4</sup> (1316), *Wydecomb*<sup>6</sup> (1303, 46). Index. *Wytherne*<sup>3</sup> (1343), *Withihamme*<sup>3</sup> (1314), *Wydyham*<sup>3</sup> (1326).  
 15th c. — F.A. *Widcombe*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Wyerne*<sup>3</sup> (1428), *Wythecombe*<sup>6</sup>, *Widpole*<sup>7</sup> (1428). P.R. *Wythyryn*<sup>3</sup> (61—67), *Wythern*<sup>3</sup> (67—77).  
 17th c. — Index. *Wythyham*<sup>3</sup> (1578).

2. *The present form exhibits loss of th.*

Wyville (Le.). T.N. *Wiwell*. H.R. *Wywell* (pers. name). F.A. *Wywell* (1316), *Wydwell* (1428), (*Rob.*) *Wyvillas* (1428),

3. *The present forms exhibit d.*

1. Widdicombe (Dv.). 2. Widecombe (Dv.), called *Wethicombe* on the map of Dv. in Camden, and in a book called *Index Villarum* (17th c.). 3. Widford (Ht.). 4. Widdial (Ht.). 5. Widford (Ox.) < O.E. *Wiðigford*, Kemble 426, 177. 6. Widecombe (Sm.).

D.B. *Widecombe*<sup>1</sup>, *Widecombe*<sup>2</sup>, *Widford*<sup>3</sup>, *Widihale*<sup>4</sup>, *Widiforde*<sup>5</sup>.  
 13th c. — Ch.R. *Widcumba*<sup>2</sup>. H.R. *Vydyford*<sup>3</sup>, *Wydeford*<sup>5</sup>. R.B. *Widford*<sup>3</sup>. Tax. Eccl. *Widiford*<sup>3</sup>.  
 14th c. — F.A. *Widcumbe*<sup>1</sup>, *Widcumb*<sup>2</sup>.  
 15th c. — F.A. *Wydecomb*<sup>2</sup>, *Wydiford*<sup>3</sup>, *Widecombe*<sup>6</sup> (1428).

D. In place-names containing O.E. *hȳþ*, *hæþ*, *rīþ*, *wræþ*.1. *The present forms exhibit th.*

1. Tingrith (Bd.) < O.E. *rīþ*. 2. Shepreth (Cb.). SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 43, thinks the second element contains O.E. *wræth* = 'enclosure' etc.; the many early forms with *i* point, however, to *rīþ*. 3. Horsheath (Cb.) < O.E. *hæþ*. 4. Meldreth (Cb.). SKEAT, l.c., derives also the second element of this place from O.E. *wræþ*, here, no doubt, with greater probability, as all the early forms have *e*. 5. Aldreth (Cb.) < O.E. *hȳþ*. 6. Rawreth (Es.), probably < O.E. *rīþ*. 7. Chawreth (Es.), also here the terminal may contain O.E. *wræþ*. 8. Earith (Hu.) < O.E. *Earhyþ*, *Earhyth*, Kemble, *Earhiþ* (a. 988), Facsimile of Charters. 9. Oteringhithe (Nf.) < O.E. *hȳþ*. 10. Rackheath (Nf.)? < O.E. *hæþ*. 11. Lakenheath (Sf.) < *Lacyngahyþ*, Thorpe. 12. Lambeth (Sr.) < O.E. *Lambhyþ*, A.S. Chr., *Lambehiþ*, Thorpe. 13. Reeth (Yo.) < O.E. *rīþ*.

D.B. *Tingrei*<sup>1</sup>, *Escepride*<sup>2</sup>, *Esceprid*<sup>3</sup>, *Horsei*<sup>8</sup>, *Melrede*<sup>4</sup>, *Otringe-heia*<sup>9</sup>, *Racheitha*<sup>10</sup>, *Racheia*<sup>10</sup>, *Lakingaheda*, *-hethē*<sup>11</sup>, *Lanchei*<sup>12</sup> (*nc* = *m*), *Rie*<sup>13</sup>.  
 12th c. — I.C.C. *Sepeia*<sup>2</sup>, *Horseda*<sup>3</sup>, *Melreda*<sup>4</sup>. Inq.El. *Sceperia*<sup>2</sup>, *Sceperce*, *-eie*<sup>2</sup>, *Melrede*<sup>4</sup>, *Melrede*<sup>4</sup>, *Meldrethe*<sup>4</sup>, *Lakingeheda*<sup>11</sup>, *Lackingehetha*<sup>11</sup>, *lagingehyða*<sup>11</sup>, *Lachingehyda*<sup>11</sup>, *Lachincheda*<sup>11</sup>, *Lagingehee*<sup>11</sup>, *lachinghedā*<sup>11</sup>, *lachingehea*<sup>11</sup>. Index. *Melreda*<sup>4</sup> (1103), *Lachingeia*<sup>11</sup>, *Lachingahutha*<sup>11</sup>. Pi.R. *Alreheda*, *-hedra*, *-hudra*<sup>5</sup>. Sf. P.F. *Lakinge-hee*<sup>11</sup> (1199).

- 13th c. — **Annales Mon.** *Tingrize*, *-rithe*, *-ri*, *-rie*<sup>1</sup>. **C.R.** *Chauwerthe*<sup>7</sup> (88—96), *Erhez*<sup>8</sup> (79—88). **Ch.R.** *Meldred*<sup>4</sup>, *Melre*<sup>4</sup> I, *Rawreth*<sup>8</sup> II, *Chauwe*<sup>7</sup> (1246), *Racheth*<sup>10</sup> I, *Lakingheth*<sup>11</sup>, *Lamhee*<sup>12</sup> I, *Lambitha*<sup>12</sup> II. **H.R.** *Tyngri*<sup>1</sup>, *Schepere*<sup>2</sup>, *Scheppere*<sup>3</sup>, *Horseth*<sup>3</sup>, *Raere*<sup>8</sup>, *Chauwe*<sup>7</sup>, *Schaure*<sup>7</sup>, *Erheth*<sup>8</sup>, *Erhee*<sup>8</sup>, *Rakhey*<sup>10</sup>, *Rakkeye*<sup>10</sup>, *Lakingheth*<sup>11</sup>. **Index.** *Chauwe*<sup>7</sup>, *Otrigeide*<sup>9</sup> (1203), *Lamhethe*<sup>12</sup>. **R.B.** *Lambhyeth*<sup>12</sup>, *Lamhe*<sup>12</sup>. **R.Gl.** *Lamhupe*<sup>12</sup>, *Lambhepe*<sup>12</sup>. **Ramsey Ch.** *Alderhithe*, *-hethe*<sup>5</sup>, *Alreheda*<sup>5</sup>, *Herhethe*<sup>8</sup>, *Herhythe*, *-ithe*<sup>8</sup>, *Erithe*<sup>8</sup>, *Erethe*<sup>8</sup>, *Erhe*<sup>8</sup>. **Sf. P.F.** *Lakingheye*<sup>11</sup> (1219). **T.N.** *Tingre*<sup>1</sup>, *Sepree*<sup>2</sup>, *Rareg*<sup>16</sup>. **Yo. K.Q.** *Rithe*<sup>13</sup> (1284).
- 14th c. — **F.A.** *Tingrie*<sup>1</sup> (1302), *Scheperethe*<sup>2</sup> (1302), *Melreth*<sup>4</sup>, *Rawreth*, *-ryth*<sup>6</sup> (1303), *Chauwerth*<sup>7</sup> (1303, 46), *Oteringhithe*<sup>9</sup>, *Racheyth*<sup>10</sup> (1316). **Index.** *Horseth*<sup>3</sup> (1305), *Rawrethe*<sup>8</sup> (1370), *Lakynghethe*<sup>11</sup> (1390), *Southlamhethe*<sup>12</sup>. **P.R.** *Lakynghithe*<sup>11</sup> (45—48). **Sf. P.F.** *Lakynghethe*<sup>11</sup> (1313), *Lakynghythe*<sup>11</sup> (1330). **Yo. N.V.** *Rith*<sup>15</sup> (1316).
- 15th c. — **Capgrave.** *Lambhithe*<sup>12</sup>, p. 313. **F.A.** *Tyngre* (1428), *Chauwerth*<sup>7</sup> (1428). **Index.** *Rakhith*<sup>10</sup> (1451), *Lambekith*<sup>12</sup>. **P.R.** *Shepereth*<sup>2</sup> (61—67), *Malrede*<sup>4</sup>, *Melreth*<sup>4</sup> (61—67), *Chawrey*<sup>7</sup> (67—77), *Lakingheth*<sup>11</sup> (67—77).
- 16th c. — **Index.** *Horseth*<sup>3</sup>, *Rawrith*<sup>6</sup> (1541).

## 2. The present forms exhibit loss of th.

1. Childrey (Be.) < O.E. *Cilla*, *Cyllanriþ*, Kemble 746, 1133 etc. 2. Cricksea or Creeksea (Es.) < O.E. *hȳþ*. 3. Sawtry (Hu.) < O.E. *wæþ*; cf. **SKEAT**, *Pl.Ns. of Ht.*, p. 62. 4. Chelsey (Mi.). In *Speculum Britanniae* (c. 1600) we find the following note on the place: — *Chelsey* also called *Cheselsey* for the sake of the pebbles. The etymology is, however, O.E. *Cælic hȳþ*, Earle. As to present *s* for older *ch* = (t), cf. Appendix C. 5. Stepney (Mi.) < O.E. *hȳþ*. 6. Setchey (Nf.), probably < O.E. *hȳþ*. 7. Boulney (Ox.), probably < O.E. *hȳþ*. 8. Shottery (Wa.) < O.E. *Scottariþ*, Earle

**D.B.** *Criccheseiā*<sup>2</sup>, *Saltrede*<sup>3</sup>, *Chelched*<sup>4</sup>, *Stibenhede*<sup>5</sup>.

- 12th c. — **Fr.Ch.** *Stebeheie*<sup>5</sup>. **Index.** *Saltereia*<sup>3</sup>, *Saltreia*<sup>3</sup>, *Sauteria*<sup>3</sup>, *Stebenhethe*<sup>5</sup>.
- 13th c. — **Ch.R.** *Sechie*<sup>6</sup> II. **F.A.** *Chelchethuth*<sup>4</sup> (1284). **H.R.** *Sechize*<sup>6</sup>, *Bulhud*<sup>7</sup>. **Index.** *Sechithe*<sup>6</sup> (Hen. III.). **Ramsey Ch.** *Saltreche* (*ch* = *th*), *-reye*, *-reio*, *-rethe*, *-rea*<sup>8</sup>, *Sautre*<sup>3</sup>, *Sautreia*<sup>3</sup>, *Sauteriee*<sup>3</sup>. **T.N.** *Sethiche*<sup>6</sup> (error for *Sechithe*), *Bulchude*<sup>7</sup>.
- 14th c. — **Cat. A.D.** *Scotriþ*<sup>8</sup>, *Schotrythe*<sup>8</sup>, *Shotriche*<sup>8</sup> (*ch* = *th*), *Schotriþ*<sup>8</sup> (all of them from the year 1318). **F.A.** *Chelrey*<sup>1</sup> (1316), *Sautre*<sup>3</sup> (1316), *Stebenhuth*<sup>5</sup> (1316), *Sechhithe*<sup>6</sup> (1316), *Bulechurch*<sup>7</sup> (1316). **P.R.** *Chelcheheth*<sup>4</sup> (1348).<sup>7</sup>
- 15th c. — **F.A.** *Chelrey*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Crikesheth*<sup>2</sup> (1428), *Chelcheth*<sup>4</sup> (1428), *Stebenhith*<sup>5</sup> (1428), *Bulnehith*<sup>7</sup> (1428). **Index.** *Chelchithe*<sup>4</sup> (1465). **P.R.** *Kyrk Hithe*<sup>2</sup>, *Crykeshithe*<sup>2</sup> (67—77), *Setchey*<sup>6</sup>, *Segthe*<sup>6</sup> (61—67).

16th c. — **Index.** *Chellsaye*<sup>4</sup> (c. 1550), *Seche*<sup>6</sup> (1564). **Mi. PF.** *Stebenhithe*<sup>5</sup> (47—53), *Stebunheth*<sup>5</sup> (1568), *Stepney*<sup>5</sup> (1575), *Stepney*<sup>5</sup> (1587).

### 3. *The present form exhibits t.*

Orsett (Es.) < O.E. \**Horshæþ*. **D.B.** *Orseda*. **H.R.** *Horsete*. **Cat. A.D.** *Orsete* (c. 1242). **C.R.** *Horseth* (1343—46), *Orseth* (1318—23, 46—49). **F.A.** *Horseth*, *Horsete* (1303, 1428).

### 4. *The present forms exhibit d.*

1. Maidenhead (Be.) < O.E. *hȳþ*. 2. Hendred (Be.) < O.E. *Henne-Hennanriþ*, Birch 165, 391 etc. 3. Cotteder (Ht.), perhaps < O.E. *wræþ*; cf. **SKEAT**, *Ht. Pl.-Ns.*, p. 61, p. 64. 4. Oxnead (Nf.)? < O.E. *hæþ*. 5. Leatherhead (Sr.) < O.E. *Leodrithan*, see **TAYLOR**, *Names*, p. 170.

**D.B.** *Henret*<sup>2</sup>, *Chodrei*<sup>3</sup>, *Oxenedes*<sup>4</sup>, *Leret*<sup>5</sup>.

12th c. — **Fr.Ch.** *Heinreit*<sup>2</sup>, *Henreth*<sup>2</sup>. **Index.** *Henreda*<sup>2</sup> (1157).

14th c. — **Ch.R.** *Heanred*<sup>2</sup> (1227), *Hanred*<sup>2</sup> (1274). **H.R.** *Henreth*<sup>2</sup>. **Index.** *Hendred*<sup>2</sup> (1225), *Ledered*<sup>5</sup>, *Leddred*<sup>5</sup>, *Ledrede*<sup>5</sup>. **R.B.** *Henred*<sup>2</sup>, *Coddre*<sup>3</sup>, *Codreye*<sup>3</sup>, *Ledrede*<sup>5</sup>, *Ladrede*<sup>5</sup>. **T.N.** *Hen*, *Hanreth*<sup>2</sup>, *Hanred*<sup>2</sup>, *Leddred*<sup>5</sup>.

14th c. — **C.R.** *Oxeneddes*<sup>4</sup> (07—13). **F.A.** *Hanreth*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Codrede*<sup>3</sup> (1303), *Oxneth*<sup>4</sup> (1316), *Oxenedis*<sup>4</sup> (1302). **Index.** *Oxnegges*<sup>4</sup> (1312). **P.R.** *Oxened*<sup>4</sup> (77—81), *Oxenede*<sup>4</sup> (81—85).

15th c. — **Cat. A.D.** *Codreth*<sup>3</sup> (1428). **F.A.** *Maydenhythe*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Hunreth*<sup>2</sup> (1401), *Codrethe*<sup>3</sup> (1402), *Codreth*<sup>3</sup> (1428), *Oxenede*<sup>4</sup> (1401, 28). **I.P.M.** *Henrede*<sup>2</sup> (Hen. VII.). **P.R.** *Madenhithe*<sup>1</sup> (01—05), *Maydenhede*<sup>1</sup> (67—77), *Esthenrith*<sup>2</sup> (61—67), *Henrede*<sup>2</sup> (67—77), *Oxney*<sup>4</sup> (61—67), *Oxney*<sup>4</sup> (67—77).

## E. In place-names containing O.E. *þl*, *þ(e)r*.

### 1. *The present forms exhibit th, d.*

1. Wetherley (Cb.) < O.E. *wæþer*; cf. **SKEAT**, *Pl.-Ns of Cb.*, p. 66. 2. Hatherton (Ch.)? < O.E. *Hathor*, **Searle**. 3. Netherexe (Dv.) < O.E. *niþerra*, *neoþera*, **Mdf.** p. 98. 4. Headley (Ha.) < O.E. *hæþ*. 5. Southry (Li.) < O.E. *sūþ*. 6. Blatherwick (Np.). 7. Netherfield (Ss.) < O.E. *niþerra* etc. 8. Featherstone (Yo.). Cf. Featherstone (St.) < *Feotherestan*, **DUIGAN**, *St. Pl.Ns.*, p. 60. 9. Rotherfield (Yo.).

**D.B.** *Wederlai*<sup>1</sup>, *Haretone*<sup>2</sup>, *Niressa*, -e<sup>3</sup>, *Hallege*<sup>4</sup>, *Sutrieie*<sup>5</sup>, *Sudtrie*<sup>5</sup>, *Blarewiche*<sup>6</sup>, *Nedrefelle*<sup>7</sup>, *Nirefeld*<sup>1</sup>, *Ferestane*<sup>8</sup>.

12th c. — **I.C.C.** *Werleia*<sup>1</sup>, *Werleie*<sup>1</sup>. **I.El.** *Wederlai*<sup>1</sup>. **Index.** *Blarewihc*<sup>6</sup> (1199). **Np.S.** *Blatherwyk*<sup>6</sup>.

- 13th c. — C.R. *Suthreya*<sup>5</sup> (88—96). Ch.R. *Fetherstane*<sup>8</sup> II, *Sudereie*<sup>5</sup> I. H.R. *Suytray*<sup>5</sup>, *Neddrefeld*<sup>7</sup>. Index. *Suthera*<sup>5</sup>, *Surreya*<sup>5</sup>, *Suthreya*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. III.), *Blathirwyk*<sup>6</sup> (1248). Yo. S.R. *Rorefeld*<sup>9</sup> (1297).  
 14th c. — F.A. *Nyther*, *Nitherece*<sup>8</sup>. Index. *Suthereya*<sup>5</sup>, *Blatherwyke*<sup>8</sup> (1307).  
 15th c. — F.A. *Sotheray*<sup>5</sup> (1401).

## 2. The present forms exhibit loss of th.

1. Harrington (Np.). 2. Werrington (Np.) < O.E. *Widrington*, A.S. Chr. 3. Surrey < O.E. *Suprige*, A.S. Chr.

D.B. *Arintone*<sup>1</sup>, *Widerintune*<sup>2</sup>, *Sudrie*<sup>8</sup>.

- 12th c. — Np.S. *Hetherington*<sup>1</sup>.  
 13th c. — C.R. *Hetherinton*<sup>1</sup> (27—31). Ch.R. *Hetherinton*<sup>1</sup> I. F.A. *Hetherington*<sup>1</sup>, *Witherington*<sup>2</sup> (1284). Index to Sloane MSS. (ed. J. L. Scott, 1904). *Hetheringtone*<sup>1</sup> (1276). R.B. *Surreia*<sup>8</sup>. T.N. *Hetherintone*<sup>1</sup>, *Surr*<sup>18</sup>.  
 14th c. — F.A. *Hetherington*<sup>1</sup> (1316). Index. *Hetryngton*<sup>1</sup> (1342). P.R. *Haryngton*<sup>1</sup> (77—81).  
 15th c. — Capgrave. *Surry*<sup>8</sup>, p. 160, *Sotheray*<sup>8</sup>, p. 271.  
 16th c. — Index. *Hetherington*<sup>1</sup> (1541).

## F. In other place-names containing O.E. *th*, *þ*.

### 1. The present forms exhibit *th*.

1. Witham (Es.). The name of this place does not contain original *þ*. The forms *Witanham*, *Witham*, A.S. Chr., point to O.E. *wita* + *ham*; cf. Mdf., p. 152. No doubt *th* in such a form as *Witham* has been taken by copyists or scribes not so well acquainted with the locality to represent the sound (d). Hence the spellings with *d*, or loss of *th*. Such confusions between *t* + *h* and *þ* are to be found also in A.S. charters. Cf. *Tadere* = *Tathere*, see Mdf., p. 133, and *Waldam*, Kemble 988 = *Waltham*, ib. 844. 2. Rothley (Le.). 3. Knaith (Li.). 4. Rothwell (Li.). 5. Witham, N. and S., also the name of a river (Li.); as to the etymology, cf. *Witham* (Es.) above. According to Hope, the local pron. is »Witt», which presupposes original *t*. 6. Seething (Nf.). 7. Rothwell (Np.). 8. Rothley (Np.). 9. Blyth (Nt.). 10. Bath (Sm.) < O.E. *Badum*, *Bade*, A.S. Chr. 11. Routh (Yo.).

D.B. *Witham*<sup>1</sup>, *Rodolei*<sup>2</sup>, *Cheneide*<sup>8</sup>, *Rodouelle*<sup>4</sup>, *Rodewelle*<sup>4</sup>, *Wime*<sup>5</sup>, *Widme*<sup>5</sup>, *Witham*<sup>5</sup>, *Sithinga*<sup>6</sup>, *Sithinges*<sup>6</sup>, *Rodewelle*<sup>1</sup>, *Rute*<sup>11</sup>. Geld. Inq. *Rothewell*<sup>7</sup>.

- 12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Blia*<sup>9</sup>, *Blya*<sup>9</sup> (c. 1175). Index. *Roelay*<sup>2</sup>, *Rothewelle*<sup>4</sup> (1156), *Rodewelle*<sup>4</sup> (1150—55), *Widme*<sup>5</sup> (c. 1170), *Wieme*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. II.), *Wiema*<sup>5</sup> (1183—84), *Norwime*<sup>6</sup>, *Nortwidhem*<sup>6</sup>, *Nordwidma*<sup>5</sup>, *Widheme*<sup>5</sup>. Le.S. *Rodeleia*<sup>2</sup>. Li.S. *Rodewella*<sup>4</sup>. Np.S. *Rowell*<sup>7</sup>.

- 13th c. — C.R. Wyham<sup>1</sup>, Wytham<sup>1</sup> (72—79), Roelay<sup>2</sup>, Roleg<sup>2</sup> (04—27), Wit-ham<sup>5</sup> (88—96), Senges<sup>5</sup> (ib.), Sithinge<sup>5</sup> (79—88), Rowell<sup>7</sup> (72—79, 88—96). Ch.R. Witham<sup>1</sup>, Wyham<sup>1</sup> I, Role<sup>2</sup>, Roeleg<sup>2</sup>, Roel<sup>2</sup> I, Rothelee<sup>2</sup> (1284), Cneye<sup>3</sup>, Kneye<sup>3</sup> I, Senges<sup>5</sup> (1267), Sithing<sup>5</sup> (1285), Rolc<sup>8</sup>, Rotheley<sup>8</sup> II. Gl. Recs. (Geoffrey de Ba<sup>10</sup> (1230). H.R. Wyham<sup>1</sup>, Wytham<sup>1</sup>, Rothele<sup>2</sup>, Rotheleye<sup>2</sup>, Kney<sup>3</sup>, Routhewell<sup>4</sup>, Wit-ham<sup>5</sup>, Wime<sup>5</sup>, Wytme<sup>5</sup>, Seynges<sup>5</sup>, Rowell<sup>7</sup>. Index. Rothleya<sup>2</sup>, Roleya<sup>2</sup> Rothele<sup>2</sup>, Wydma<sup>5</sup>, Witme<sup>5</sup>, Wyme<sup>5</sup>, Senges<sup>5</sup>. Le. Recs. Roleya<sup>2</sup> (1251). R.B. Rolega<sup>2</sup>, Rouwell<sup>7</sup>. T.N. Rottel<sup>2</sup>, Role<sup>2</sup>, Rolle<sup>2</sup>, Rou-, Rowell<sup>4</sup>, Rowell<sup>7</sup>, Rotheley<sup>3</sup>. Yo. K.Q. Rue<sup>11</sup> (1284).
- 14th c. — F.A. Wyham<sup>1</sup> (1303), Kneth<sup>3</sup> (1316), Rothewell<sup>4</sup>, Nortwyme<sup>5</sup>, Wyham<sup>5</sup>, Wythme<sup>5</sup>, Senges<sup>5</sup> (1302), Seng<sup>5</sup> (1316), Sithyngg<sup>6</sup> (1346), Rothewell<sup>7</sup> (1316, 46), Rotheley<sup>8</sup> (1346), Blid<sup>9</sup>, Blida<sup>9</sup>. Index. Wyma<sup>5</sup> (1343), Sithyng<sup>3</sup>, Sything<sup>6</sup>, Rothewelle<sup>7</sup> (1335). P.R. Rothe-well<sup>7</sup> (1399—01).
- 15th c. — F.A. Wytham<sup>1</sup> (1428), Kneth<sup>3</sup> (1428), Rothewell<sup>4</sup> (1428), Sythinge<sup>6</sup> (1428), Rothewell<sup>7</sup> (1428). Index. Sethyng<sup>6</sup> (1450). P.R. Wyt-ham<sup>1</sup> (61—67, 67—77), Rotheley<sup>2</sup> (61—67), Rothewell<sup>4</sup> (ib.), Wytham<sup>5</sup> (ib.), Sethyng<sup>6</sup> (67—77), Rothewell<sup>7</sup>, (61—67, 67—77).

## 2. The present forms exhibit loss of th.

1. Wingrave (Bu.). 2. Wing (Bu.). The early forms in D.B. and the Index point to original *th*. The etymology may be an O.E. *wīþung* for *wīþing*; cf. Mdf., p. 152.

D.B. *Withungrave*<sup>1</sup>, *Witehunge*<sup>2</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Wiungua*<sup>2</sup> (Hen. II.).

13th c. — C.R. *Wing*<sup>2</sup> (88—96). H.R. *Wingraue*<sup>1</sup>, *Weng*<sup>2</sup>. Index. *Wenghe*<sup>2</sup> (1208). T.N. *Wengraue*<sup>1</sup>, *Weng*<sup>2</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Wengrave*<sup>1</sup>, *Weyngrave*<sup>1</sup>, *Wenge*<sup>2</sup>, *Weynge*<sup>2</sup>.

## 3. The present forms exhibit d.

1. Roothing or Roding (Es.), possibly < O.E. \**Hroþingas* < *Hroth*, Searle. 2. Edington (Wl.). According to Stevenson, the place is identical with *Eþandun*, A.S. Chr. and Crawford Ch. *Eþandun* has also been identified with Edington (Sm.). This identification must be wrong, for the place in question appears in D.B. as *Edwinetona*. In our opinion it is not altogether excluded that also Edington (Wl.) is due to an O.E. *Eadwinetun*. If so, it does not belong here.

D.B. *Rodinges*<sup>1</sup>, *Roinges*<sup>1</sup>, *Edendone*<sup>2</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Roing*<sup>1</sup>.

13th c. — H.R. *Roothing*<sup>1</sup>, *Roing*<sup>1</sup>, *Edindone*<sup>2</sup>. R.B. *Roinges*<sup>1</sup>, *Roynges*<sup>1</sup>, *Roynge*<sup>1</sup>. T.N. *Roing*<sup>11</sup>, *Edinton*<sup>2</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Rothying*<sup>1</sup> (1303 etc.). Index. *Rothing*<sup>1</sup> (1389). P.R. *Edyndon*<sup>2</sup> (1399—01).

15th c. — F.A. *Rothying*<sup>1</sup> (1428). Index. *Edyngdon*<sup>2</sup> (1432). P.R. *Edyndon*<sup>2</sup> (61—67).

In early O.Fr. *d* < Lat. *t*, *d* is lost, finally after a vowel, medially between two vowels and before liquids. It has been proved beyond all doubt that, before *d* was lost, it was changed into (*ḏ*), (*p*), which sounds were probably distributed so, that (*ḏ*) occurred between two vowels and before the liquids, whereas there was in the spoken language an interchange between final (*ḏ*) and (*p*). Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. § 436; NYROP, Gramm. §§ 386, 387; MENDER, p. 94 ff.; GASTON PARIS, Extraits de la Chans. de Roland (Paris 1899), p. 15 f. The existence of such an intermediate sound is best proved by the fact that in O.E. and M.E. loan-words Lat. and O.Fr. *d*, respectively, appear as *p*, *ḏ*. For instances see POGATSCHER, Lehnworte, p. 174, BEHRENS, p. 175 f., and especially KLUGE, Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil. XX, p. 322 ff., where the whole matter is discussed at length, and also numerous references given<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also REICHMANN, Eigennamen im Ormulum, p. 28 f., who considers *p* in several Biblical names from this text as a criterion of French influence. The spirant is still preserved in Mod. E. *faith* < M.E. *feip*, *feid*, *feith(e)* < O.Fr. *feid*, *feit* < Lat. *fidem* (see N.E.D.), *asseth* < M.E. *aseeth*, *asethe* < O.Fr. *as(s)et* < Lat. *ad satis* (see N.E.D.), as probably also in Scotch *dainteth* -ith < M.E. *deinteth(e)*, -ith(e) < O.Fr. *dain*-, *deintiet* < Lat. *dignitatem*, *bounteth* -ith < O.Fr. *bontet* < Lat. *bonitatem*, *poortith* < O.Fr. *povretet* < Lat. *paupertatem*.

In O.E. the interdental spirant was voiced between two vowels, finally after a vowel it was voiceless. Cf. KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1006 f.

As for the various ways in which the sounds of (*p*) and (*ḏ*) are rendered in early E. and A.N. MSS., cf. Appendix A.

In the beginning of the 12th cent. the Normans had, to judge from the orthography of the earliest A.N. MSS., two ways of pronouncing such words as *vide* < Lat. *vita*. Sometimes

<sup>2</sup> To the instances of A.N. (*p*), (*ḏ*) having been kept in *Lazamon* which are adduced by LUHMANN, pp. 191, 193, we may add one more, viz. *Uært Escud*, A, v. 2769, corresponding to *Vertescu*, B = Mod. Fr. *écu* < Lat. *scutum*.

*d* was kept in the pronunciation, sometimes not. Cf. KLUGE, *Zeitschrift*, p. 322, and NYROP, *Gramm.* § 386, who draws attention to the fact that in Mod. Spanish there is a similar vacillation with reference to the pron. of the interdental spirant in an intervocalic position. The spirant seems to have been lost earlier when medial than when final. Already in Computus there are rhymes like *signifie: vie* (cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, l.c.), and soon after the middle of the 12th c. *d*, *t* disappear in all positions.

In the French word-material of D.B. intervocalic *d* = (ð) is often lost medially, while in a final position it is always kept. Instances like *Todeny*, *Toeny* = Tosny (Eure), *Buenvaslet*, *-vasleth* etc. are adduced by HILDEBRAND, p. 360 f.

Also in the English place-names loss of intervocalic (ð) is usual, not only in D.B. but also in records of a more recent date: *-mude*, *-mue*, (see list A); *Suthinton*, *Suintone* (see list B 2); *Widerne*, *Wiernia* (C 1); *-hyda*, *-heda*, *-heltha*, *-hea*, *-hee*, *-rithe*, *-rie*, *-rede*, *-rethe*, *-rede*, *-ree* (D 1); *Blida*, *Blia*, *Rode*, *Rothe*, *Roe*, *Rute*, *Rue*, *Sethyng*, *Seynges*, *Wytham*, *Wyham* (F 1); *Rodinges*, *Roinges*, (F 3).

Loss of the interdental spirant before liquids appears in such instances as *Hallege*, *Haretone*, *Arintone* etc. (list E 1, 2). Here it is worthy of note that the combination *per* is often turned into *pre*, whereupon *pre* > *re*.

Finally we find in D.B. an interchange of *t*, *d* just as in the purely French words: *-rid*, (D 1), *-hed* (D 2), *-ret* (D 4). Loss of the spirant we have not noted as early as in D.B. save in one single case, viz. *Tockvi* = Tockwith (Yo.). This is probably a mere error in view of the many other cases in which the dental was kept. In later records loss is usual also in final position: *Waymo*, C.R., *Cokermu*, C.R., (A); *Lamhe*, R.B. (D 1); *Chaure*, *Melre*, Ch.R. (D 1); *Ba*, Gloucester Records (F 1) etc. Cf. also rhymes, like *Jesu: fu: Adeldru*, Gaimar, v. 1341, v. 1407, *Edelfrid: saisi*, ib., v. 1147.

When owing to A.N. sound-development intervocalic (ð) is dropped, two vowels meet, a phenomenon which is generally known under the name of hiatus. During all periods the French language has never been very partial to such a combination, and several devices have been used to get rid of it:

(1). Sometimes the second vowel is entirely lost. This seems to have been the case in *Rolega*, R.B. < *Roelay* < *Rotheley* (F 1); *Wime*, D.B. < *Wieme* < *Witham* (*Wime* may also be due to *Widme*) (F 1); *Wing*, C.R. < *Wiungua* < *Withung* (F 2); and perhaps also in *Seng*, F.A. < *Seynges* < *Sethyng* (F 1), cf. however below.

(2). The two vowels are amalgamated into one sound. A diphthong may really have been pronounced in *Soynthone*, Selborne Ch. < *Suthintune* (B 1) and *Roing*, Index < *Rothing* (F 3).

(3). Both in O.Fr. and Mod. Fr. a glide is often developed between the two vowels. This glide before a following palatal vowel is (j), and is either not noted in the spelling or rendered by *i*, *y*. Cf. NYROP, Gramin. § 279; PASSY, Changements phonétiques, p. 214. STIMMING, p. 237, adduces several A.N. instances of *i*, *y*, as a glide between unstressed *a*, *o* and a following palatal vowel. In the case of the English place-names *j* as a glide appears with certainty only after what from a Norman point of view was no doubt stressed  $\bar{e}$ , whether this  $\bar{e}$  (<  $\bar{y}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ) already existed in English or was due to A.N. adaptation. On this point cf. STOLZE, p. 18 Anm. 2. The following examples may serve to illustrate the development in question: *Scepereie*, I.El. < *Sceperree*, *Lachingeia*, Index < *lachingehea* < *Lackingehetha* (D 1); *Saltreye*, Ramsey Ch. < *Saltrede*, *Stebeheie*, Fr.Ch. < *Stibenhede* (D 2); *Codreye*, R.B. < *Codrede* (D 3). The above-mentioned forms are perfect analogies to A.N. *espee*, *espeie* < Lat. *spatha* (see STIMMING, p. 175, p. 238) or M.E. *contreie* (< *contree*): *waye*; see BEHRENS, p. 82.

The glide is still kept in Mod. E. *fay* < M.E. *fay* < O.Fr. *fæ*, *faie*, *fayee*, *fed*, *fee* (Godefroy) < Lat. *fata* (N.E.D.). An excellent parallel to the twofold development of *-ef*, *-ede* in the second element of English place-names is also afforded by such O.Fr. doublets as *deintie*, *dente* — *daintiet*, *bunte*, *bountee* — *bon-tet* corresponding to M.E. *deinteth(e)* — *daynte*, Mod. E. *dainteth* — *dainty*, *bounteth* — *bounty*. Cf. also O.Fr. *feid*, *feit* — *fei* = M.E. *feid* — *fei*, *fey* = Mod. E. *faith*, *fay*.

A few peculiar spellings of the diphthong *ei* (*ai*) are discussed in Appendix B.

The instances of loss of (b), (d) we have just been discussing can hardly be explained in any other way than as due to the

operation of A.N. sound-laws. In O.E. and M.E. the interdental spirant is hardly ever lost in position between two vowels or finally after a vowel. Also in the Mod. E. dialects loss of (þ), (ð) is rarely found. Cf. E.D. Gr. § 314; GRÜNING, p. 47. What also tells in favour of French influence is the circumstance that the forms without spirant are best and most frequently represented in documents which in every other respect exhibit strong A.N. peculiarities (D.B., Fr.Ch., R.B., I.El., T.N. etc.). Examples from O.Fr. and A.N. texts are given by WESTPHAL, p. 20 and p. 37.

There are, however, some instances in our lists for which A.N. influence can hardly be claimed. Before *l* and *r* (see list E) loss of *th* as early as in D.B. is most likely due to French influence. Modern forms like Surrey < *Sudrige* etc. (see E 2) have been explained as due to assimilation in English itself (cf. KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1007), though in our opinion French sound-development is not altogether excluded<sup>1</sup>. We must keep in mind that assimilatory loss of *th* sets in mainly before *f*, *s*, *d*, *t*, more seldom before other consonants.

The French forms without *th* existed for a long time by the side of the native ones in which *th* was kept. In the 13th cent. the former were still very well represented. Even in the 14th cent. they are not unusual, but a hundred years later they seem to have altogether disappeared except in the few cases where they ultimately prevailed.

The French forms are, of course, much more numerous in the Anglo-Latin feudal records than in the purely English chronicles. A comparison between the chronicle of Peter Langtoft and that of Rob. of Brunne, of which the latter is to a great extent based on the former, shows that Langtoft always prefers the forms in *-mue* < O.E. *mūþa*, whereas R. of Brunne, with very few exceptions, makes use of the native forms: *Portesmue*, Langtoft I, p. 450; *Portsmouth*, R.Br., p. 96 etc. The form *-mue* is very rare in R.Br. One instance is *Germue*, *Gernemeue*, *-mue*, p. 252, answering to *Gernemue*, *-meue*, Langtoft II, p. 196.

<sup>1</sup> In all the O.Fr. texts we have had an opportunity of examining Surrey always appears without the dental. Thus *Surree*, Rou, v. 7736; *Surr(i)e*, G. le Mar., v. 1552; *Surye*, Langtoft I, p. 170.

We will now proceed to give a short survey of the cases in which the French forms have gained the victory.

That, as far as compounds with *Sūþ*-, *mūþ(a)* are concerned (see lists A, B), the French forms have never prevailed, is, of course, due to the fact that the etymology of the words was quite clear. *South* and *mouth* were parts of the general vocabulary, and supported the native forms.

In Wyville (see list C 2) it is not only the spirant that has been lost owing to A.N. sound-development, but in the suffix French *ville* has supplanted older *well*. When *ville* appears as a suffix in English place-names it is mostly due to substitution of the French etymon *ville* for English *well* or Southern *vel(d)* < *fēld*. Acoustic resemblance is probably often the cause of the substitution.

It is above all in place-names containing O.E. *riþ*, *hȳþ*, *hæþ* etc. that the French forms have been victorious (see list D 2). This is perhaps best explained thus: the forms in *-ee*, *-eie* did not appear strange or unfamiliar to the English. They were easily associated with a similar and very usual suffix, *-e*, *-eie* < O.E. *ēa*, *ēg*, Mdf. p. 44, 45. To the instances quoted in list D 2 we may add one more, in which the forms without *th* also have prevailed. In the English Sir Beves of Hamtoun (ed. KÖLBING, E.E.T.S., E.S. 46, 48, 65) we note the following interesting forms of Putney (Sr.), nowadays the name of a London district south of the Thames: *Potenhipe*: *swipe*, p. 202, MS. A (c. 1327); *Pountany*, ibid., MS. S (end of 14 c.); *Ponteney*: *they*, ibid., MS. C; *Pownteneth*, ibid., MS. M (15th cent.); *Putneth*, ibid., O (printed copy, closely related to M); *Pountenay*: *lay*: *way*: *tway* (= two), p. 208, 210, 214, MS. E. (sec. half of 14th cent.)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As late as the 17th cent. double forms still occur for some of the place-names here in question. The same person is called *R. Stepneth* or *Stepney* in an entry of 1600; see BARDSLEY'S Dic., p. 716. This being so, it would really be curious if we did not sometimes find *-eth* for etymological *-ei* on the analogy of those cases where the interchange was original. I think I have found a trace of such analogous forms in Magna Britannia, where Brent Eleigh and Monk Eleigh (Sf.) are called *Brent Ely* or *Brentilleth alias combusta*, *Monks Ely* or *Munselleth*. The etymology is O.E. *Illan leah* (*leage*) (a. 999), Earle. M.E. forms are *Illeya*, *Illeye*, H.R., *Illeg*, T.N. Cf. also Appendix B.

According to Tanger, Rothwell as a place-name is pronounced with (p), as a personal name, without. Hope gives the notation »Rowell» for Rothwell (Np.). Both the latter pronunciations may depend on A.N. forms without *th* (see list F 1).

**A.N. (t), (d) is substituted for M.E. final (p), and  
intervocalic (ð).**

Though in the course of the 12th cent. the interdental spirant was lost in A.N. in all positions, we, nevertheless, find spellings *t* for (p) finally, and *d* for (ð) medially. To assign the value of (p), (ð) to these spellings is not possible, for some of them, particularly those with *d*, have been handed down to our time, and *d* is here still pronounced (d). In our opinion such instances of *t* and *d* are now due to A.N. sound-substitution, and should, consequently, have been treated in Part I. To avoid unnecessary repetitions of forms and to give a better survey of this whole question, we have considered it the best plan to deal with the eventual sound-substitution of (t) for final (p) and (d) for intervocalic (ð) in this context. In the sequel we will, in the first place, treat of some cases of (t) for (p), then proceed to (d) for (ð).

**1. A.N. (t) is substituted for M.E. final (p).**

That (t) was used by the Normans as a substitute for (p), not only initially but also finally, is indisputable. Rhymes of *t*: *th* < *p* are usual in Gaimar etc.; cf. VISING, *Le dial. Anglo-Normand*, p. 90, and RATHMANN, p. 39.

The only case of *t* being preserved which may belong here is Orsett (Es.). Forms like *Orseda*, D.B., *Horseth*, C.R. (see list D 3) undoubtedly point to an O.E. \**Horshæp*<sup>1</sup>.

We note, however, in many purely English works of the 11th cent. and later a peculiar orthographic interchange of final *p*, *th* and *t*, *d*:

Rule of S. Benet (MS. 1020—30), *t* for *p*, as in *det* (= doth); *d* for *t*, as in *wurðmend*, *hwæt* (= what), see LOGEMAN, p. LII.

<sup>1</sup> As regards Ayot < O.E. *ēgoð*, cf. the explanation given by SKEAT, *Pl.-Ns. of Cb.*, p. 58.

Lazamon, *t* for *þ*, in A 6X, in B often; *ð* for *t*, a few times both in A and B, see LUCHT, p. 65, 72. On page 65 Lucht also draws attention to similar spellings from several 11th and 12th cent. MSS., e.g. Ælfric, Textus Roffensis, M.E. version of the Rule of S. Benet etc.

Norfolk Guilds (14th c.), *t* for *th* is usual, see SCHULTZ (Diss. Jena 1891), p. 28 f.

London deeds (1384—1430), *t* for *þ*, *th*, as in *hat*, *levet*, *strecchet*; *d* for *th*, as in *had*, see MORSBACH, Urkunden, p. 134, p. 137.

Many more examples are noted by DIBELIUS, Anglia XXIII, p. 452 f., and NEUMANN, Paston Letters, p. 91.

This interchange is generally confined to unstressed syllables, particularly the verbal ending *-eth*, and in consideration of the very usual inverted spellings (*ð*, *þ* for *t*) it may represent a real transition of (þ) > (t), which perhaps has taken place in connected speech before consonants like *s*, *f*, *t*, *d* etc. Having thus arisen in some positions, the dental stop might easily have been transferred to others, and have even sometimes transplanted original *th*. A similar explanation would seem possible for some sporadic instances of *t* for final *th* also in the present English dialects. Cf. E.D. Gr. § 316; FRANZMEYER, p. 75; KRUISINGA § 362 and Additions p. 178.

As to *d* for final *th*, *þ* I do not think we need assign the value of (d) to this spelling in the cases here in question. Thus MORSBACH, Urkunden, p. 134. It seems more likely that *d* is nothing but an inverted spelling for *t*. In fact, in nearly all those texts where we find *d* for final *th* we also find some instances of *t* for *d* in the same position. Cf. LOGEMAN, Rule of S. Benet, p. LI; LUCHT, Lazamon, p. 68 f.; MORSBACH, Urkunden, p. 144, *fulfyllyt* by the side of *fulfyllyd*. Now, if both the ending of the past tense *-ed* and that of the present tense *-eth* were changed to *-et*, one might sometimes be put for the other. For such instances see BLACH, Paulsschule, p. 41. DIBELIUS, p. 452, notes rhymes like *longith* (present tense): *hongit* (past part.).

From the above examination we may conclude that, though A.N. influence in itself is not impossible with reference to

Orsett < *Horsheth*, *t* in this and similar cases can also be explained as due to dialectal sound-change.

2. *A.N. (ð) is substituted for M.E. intervocalic (ð̄).*

Intervocalic *d* for *th* is much more usual than final *t* for *th*, and such forms have also been adopted much more generally. In his treatise on the Germanic elements in French and Provençal, p. 168, MACKEL, with reference to the different treatment of (ð̄), distinguishes between early loan-words in which the spirant was lost, and comparatively late ones in which it, probably owing to sound-substitution, appears as *d*. After observing that Gaimar generally uses *d* for O.E. (ð̄) in personal names, RATHMANN, p. 42, no doubt correctly, assigns the value of (d) to this spelling. Numerous instances of *d* for etymological ð̄, and vice-versa, in both the MSS. of *Lazamon* are looked upon by LUHMANN, p. 38, as due to French misrepresentation and, no doubt, also mispronunciation. We have then to assume that from about the middle of the 12th cent. the Normans commenced to substitute (d) for (ð̄) in English place-names.

The following typical 13th cent. instances have been chosen from the lists to illustrate the sound-substitution: *Tinemuda*, Ch.R. (A); *Sudwerk*, Index, *Sudington*, Selborne Ch. (B 1); *Wydecumb*, H.R., *Wydinton*, F.A., *Widebroc*, Index (C 1); *Widiford*, Tax. Eccl. (C 3); *Meldred*, Ch.R., *Alreheda*, Ramsey Ch. (D 1); *Bulchude*, T.N., *Bulhud*, H.R. (D 2); *Heanred*, Ch.R., *Ledrede*, Index, (D 4) etc. O.E. *Witigslæd* (a. 739), Crawford Charters, appears as *Wydeslade* in a late copy of the 15th cent. O.E. *Baete*, A.S. Chr., is called *Ba*, *Bae* in Langtoft I, p. 34, and Roman de Rou, v. 7750, with loss of (ð̄), *Bade* in Wace, with *d* for (ð̄).

Though we may be fairly sure that comparatively early instances of *d* for *th* in English place-names are due to A.N. sound-substitution, we are not therefore always justified in considering *d* in the present forms of the place-names in question as an A.N. peculiarity. The transition of (ð̄) to (d), particularly before *l*, and when *-er* follows, is well evidenced in M.E., and has also taken place in several words belonging to the literary language. Cf. KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1008. *d* in Headley (Wo.) < O.E. *Hæthlege*, Birch 455, and Widley (Ha.) < O.E. *Withiglea*, Birch

142, is, no doubt, due to this sound-change. In the M.E. texts mentioned in § 2, p. 43 f., where initial *þ* often appears as *d*, intervocalic *d* for *þ* is also quite usual. Promptorium Parvulorum has *schede* (= sheath), see Stratmann-Bradley. In our opinion the above-mentioned spellings with *d* for *þ*, *th* may very well indicate a dialectal pronunciation, of which now only some traces are left. As a matter of fact, in the present English dialects intervocalic (d) for (ð) occurs, independently of position before one consonant or the other, both in N. and S. England. Cf. E.D. Gr. § 315; FRANZMEYER, p. 64; HIRST, Dialect of Kendal (Anglist. Forschungen 16), p. 89. In his edition of *Pedes Finium* for Kent (Publ. of Kent Archæol. Soc. I, p. 230) the Rev. L. B. LARKING tells us that South Ash is in the vernacular pronounced »Soudaisse».

But the great question is: when and where did this change of (ð) > (d) take place? Here again, we find ourselves in face of a problem which is not to be solved easily<sup>1</sup>. Only by a thorough special investigation could it be decided if *d* in such modern forms as given in the lists B 2, C 3, D 4, F 3 is due to A.N. sound-substitution or dialectal sound-development.

In one or two cases some evidence may be adduced which tells in favour of French influence. Roding is, according to Hope, dialectally pronounced »Roothing», and from some *th* spellings of the 17th and 18th cent. (Index Villarum, Camden) we may perhaps conclude that this is or was the case also with Widecombe (Dv.).

Some very interesting examples of the double A.N. treatment of intervocalic (ð) are offered by the various modern and M.E. forms of O.E. *þriþing* as tabulated below.

1. Tring (Ht.), SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Ht., p. 38, is unable to arrive at any certain etymology. Curiously enough, he has overlooked the important D.B. form *Tredunga*, which makes the derivation from O.E. *þriþing* obvious.

<sup>1</sup> JELLINGHAUS, Anglia XX, p. 258 Anm., thinks that *d* already in D.B. stands for (d), a dialectal development of (ð). LUCHT, Lazamon, p. 97, and LANGER, Abingdon Chart., p. 66, are of opinion that the occurrence of *ð* as an inverted spelling for *d* in several 12th and 13th cent. MSS. necessarily must indicate a transition of (d) > (ð). We cannot subscribe to this view. Both in O.E. and e. M.E. *d* is often used for *þ*, *ð*, merely owing to confusion of letters. Cf. Appendix A.

2. Division of land in Linc. We have not been able to find any more entries after the year 1401. 3. Riding, division of land in Yorkshire.

- D.B. *Tredunga*<sup>1</sup>, *Treunga*<sup>1</sup>, *Trevinga*<sup>1</sup>, *Norttreding*<sup>2</sup>, *Sudtreding*<sup>2</sup>, *Westredinge*<sup>2</sup>, *Nortreding*<sup>3</sup> vel *Norttreding*<sup>3</sup>, *Estriding*<sup>3</sup>, *Westreding*<sup>3</sup>.  
 12th c. — Li.S. *West Triding*<sup>2</sup>, *Nortriding*<sup>2</sup>. Pontefract Ch. *de Tridings*<sup>2</sup> et *de Wapentaciis* (c. 1150).  
 13th c. — H.R. *Norththrything*<sup>2</sup>, *Northtryng*<sup>2</sup>, *Norttriing*<sup>2</sup>, *Norttrithyng*<sup>2</sup>, *Sud Thrything*<sup>2</sup>, *Sudthrything*<sup>2</sup>, *Suththreheng*<sup>2</sup>, *Suthtreing*<sup>2</sup>, *Suthtring*<sup>2</sup>, *Suttring*<sup>2</sup>, *Sutt'ying*<sup>2</sup>, *Westthreyig*<sup>2</sup>, *Westreingge*<sup>2</sup>, *Westrething*<sup>2</sup>, *Westrithig*<sup>2</sup>, *Westthrithing*<sup>2</sup>, *Westtryng*<sup>2</sup>, *Northtithing*<sup>2</sup>, *Northriding*<sup>3</sup>, *Estriding*<sup>3</sup>, *Estridding*<sup>3</sup>. R.B. *Traynge*<sup>1</sup>. T.N. *Treing*<sup>1</sup>, *Treng*<sup>1</sup>.  
 14th c. — F.A. *Trehynge*<sup>1</sup> (1303), *Northrithing*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Suthrithing*<sup>2</sup> (1316), *Westrithing*<sup>2</sup> (1316). Yo. Recs. (see SKAIFE, Survey of Yo. etc., Appendix). *Northstriding*<sup>3</sup>, *Nortriding*<sup>3</sup>, *Westriding*<sup>3</sup> (c. 1300).  
 15th c. — F.A. *Northrithing*<sup>2</sup> (1401), *Southrithing* (1401), *Westrithing*<sup>2</sup> (1401). Index. *Trynge*<sup>1</sup> (1441).

On the evidence of the D.B. forms STEENSTRUP has derived Mod. E. Riding (Yo.) from O.E. *þrīping* < Scand. *þrītjungr*, in spite of the phonetic difficulties involved by such a derivation. There was, however, the same division of land in Linc., and in entries relating to this county from the H.R. and the F.A. we find the true English form *thrithing*, which hitherto has escaped the attention of philologists.

Forms like *Estriding*, *Northriding*, H.R. etc., corresponding to modern Riding, in all probability, exhibit French *d* for English (ð)<sup>1</sup>.

Tring (Ht.) is an instance of the early French forms without spirant having prevailed. As to the intermediate stages in the development *Thrithing* > *Tring* there are several possibilities to be taken into consideration. *Triing*<sup>2</sup> may have been contract-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Archiv 116, p. 105, who also points to the lengthening of *i* as a criterion of French influence. This may be true, though, on the other hand, (ai) for (i) in the present pron. may be due to spell-pron. In like manner (ai) in Mod. E. Clive < *clif* and Ticehurst < *ticcen* (see § 1, p. 31) may be due either to spell-pron. or French vowel-lengthening.

<sup>2</sup> *Tr* instead of *Thr* may be due to A.N. sound-substitution or dialectal development. Cf. § 2, p. 44 f. In the personal name Thring *th* has been kept to the present day. Cf. BARDSLEY, Dic., p. 747, where numerous early forms are recorded.

ed to *Trīng*, whereupon, owing to a general M.E. tendency, *ī* was shortened before *ng*. On this point cf. MORSBACH, *Mittelengl. Gramm.*, p. 69, p. 73. If we start from early forms like *Trayinge*, *Treinge* < *Tredinge* (with A.N. *e* for E. *i*, cf. STOLZE, p. 17), *ēi* may here have been made into a diphthong *ei*, *ai*, whence by monophthongization *e*, which became *i* before *ng*. On the other hand *ei* may also be a French spelling for *e*, which in late M.E. often interchanged with *i*. Cf. MORSBACH, *Mittelengl. Gramm.*, p. 150.

The Lincolnshire forms in the H.R. are of particular interest, for here we find all three forms as well as many curious blendings<sup>1</sup>.

### G. In place-names containing O.E. *æpel*.

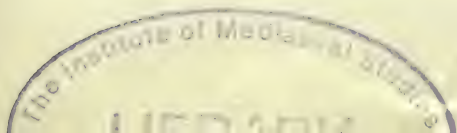
Nearly all place-names here in question are compounded with personal names in *æpel*. The greater part of of this section must, therefore, be devoted to the study of such personal names. We admit that in the following discussion a few matters have been entered upon which are not absolutely necessary in order to obtain a right understanding of the various forms of

<sup>1</sup> Instances of *h* for *th*, *d* appear in entries like *Norttrihing*, H.R., *Trehynge* F.A. Such forms are to be compared with *Portesmuha* C.R. (see list A.)

In some early M.E. texts several cases of initial and final *h* for *þ* have been noted, which, no doubt, are best explained as mere confusions of letters. Thus SCHRÖER, *Regula S. Bened.*, p. 18; BERBERICH, *Herb. Apuleii*, p. 8. Of different opinion are LUCK, *Deutsche Lit. Zeitung* 1890, p. 746, and LUHMANN, *Lazamon*, p. 46, who think that *h* in such spellings represents a development of *þ*. Their reasons do not seem to us very convincing.

In *Trehynge*, *Portesmuha* etc. *h* has certainly no phonetic value; it merely stands to indicate that *e* and *i*, *u* and *a* belong to two separate syllables. Both in O.Fr. and Mod. Fr. we often find *h* used as a mere hiatus-filler. Cf. NYROP, *Gramm.* § 279 *Remarque*; MACKEL, p. 133.

Initial *h* is often omitted in D.B., and here, as well as in later records, we also find instances of an unetymological *h* both initially and medially. Cf. spellings like *Cornehude*, *Bradehode*, D.B. = Cornwood, Bradwood (Dv.) — in D.B. *ode*, *ude* are usual spellings for O.E. *wudu* — *Suavesia*, *Swavesche*, Fr.Ch. = Swavesey (Cb.); *Clixebye*, *Clixheby*, H.R. = Clixeby (Li.); *Cameshing*, R.B. = Kemsing (Ke.) < O.E. *Kymesinc*, Index; *Messingham*, *Meshingham*, H.R. = Messingham (Li.) etc.



the place-names, but, as the entire question exhibits many points of special interest, we have thought it admissible to treat it somewhat more exhaustively than would have been required solely from the point of view of the place-names.

### 1. *æpel in personal names.*

Two questions, in particular will have to be closely inquired into: (1). The transition of *æpel* to *ægel*. (2). The confusion of *æpel* with *ælf*, *eald*, *ealh*.

#### a. *Transition of æpel > ægel.*

This transition has already been dealt with by Prof. MORSBACH in *Festschrift für Wendelin Føerster* (= *Die angebliche Originalität des Frühmittelenglischen King Horn*, Sonderabzug, Halle 1902). The chief aim of the author is to prove that, though English as to its contents, the original version of the M.E. story of King Horn was the work of one, or more than one, French, probably Anglo-French, writer (p. 299). In his opinion the French origin is clearly indicated by the fact that the metre requires such forms as *Ailmar* etc. pronounced in two syllables < original *Æthelmær* etc. in three syllables (p. 322). To account for the transition of *æpel* > *ægel* MORSBACH assumes French influence (p. 305)<sup>1</sup>. For examples he refers to Searle's *Onomasticon*

<sup>1</sup> Indeed, this seems to be the only possible explanation. The theory according to which O.E. *ægel*, *egel* (< *æge*, cf. MÜLLER, *Palæstra*, IX, p. 105) has taken the place of *æpel* is highly improbable, the latter being a much more usual compound in O.E. personal names than the former. Cf. the examples in Searle. — In *Vict. Hist. of Np.*, p. 297, Mr. ROUND, a well-known English scholar, accounts for *ægel* < *æpel* as due to confusion of letters. Had we to do only with a few sporadic spellings, this explanation would in itself be possible. The O.E. symbols *þ*, *ð*, *ȝ* were unknown to the Normans, and for that reason are often put one for the other. Instances are adduced by SKEAT, *The Proverbs of Alfred* (Oxford 1907), p. XIV; SCHRÖER, *Winteney-Vers. der Regula S. Bened.* p. XXII; LUHMANN, *Lazamon*, pp. 44, 45. In all their instances *ȝ* occurs as an occasional spelling for *þ*, which has hardly given rise to any new pronunciation, whereas *ægel* for *æpel* is extremely usual, and has been kept to the present day. Consequently, the explanation of *ægel* as due to mere confusion of letters does not seem to be admissible.

(pp. 5, 33 ff., 534 ff.), where we are told »that *ægel*, is a late form of *æthel*, which first appears on coins of Æthelred II. (978—1017).»

It seems, indeed, surprising that French should have exercised any influence on English names as early as 1000, and, as far as we can see, Searle has not adduced any certain examples of *ægel* for *æpel* of so early a date. Perhaps he has overlooked that early *ægel*-forms on coins etc. may be due to the above-mentioned O.E. *ægel*, *egel*. If we except the charters, which often exist only in late copies, Searle's instances of *ægel* for *æpel* are mainly derived from Anglo-Latin chronicles, which exist in MSS. of the 12th cent. and later, e.g. Henry of Huntingdon, Will. of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester etc.

With a view to establishing the chronology of the transition, we have scanned the various forms of personal names compounded with *æpel* in the MSS. of the A.S. Chr. The sec. part of Earle and Plummer's edition contains an excellent Index of Names. In the Introd. to the same part the date of the MSS. is noted. It appears that in the MS. A (entries nearly contemporary with events, latest entries in 1075) there are no instances of *æpel* > *ægel*. The same is the case with B (c. 1000), C (c. 1050), as also with E (1121—1154). D (second half of 11th c.) has one single example: *Ægelmer* = *Æpelmær* E. First in F (probably contemporary with D.B., there being a great resemblance between the handwriting of the two), the transition is very well instanced: *Ætelberht*, *Ægelberht*, *Egelbert* = *Ætelbryht* A; *Ægelnoð* = *Ædelnoð*, -*nod* C, E; *Ægelred* = *Ætelred* A, C, D, E; *Ægelric* = *Æpelric* C, E; *Ægelword* = *Ætelward* E. — We have not been able to find any instances of interchange in Sweet's O.E.T. Thus, as *ægel* for *æpel* does not seem to appear until after the Conquest, this seems to support the theory that the change in question is due to A.N. influence.

In the A.S. Chr. we also find *æpe*, *æþ* as alternative forms of *æpel*: *Ætebald* (a. 778) E = *Ætelbald* D; *Æþelm* (a. 837) B = *Æpelhelm* A, E; *Æþered* (a. 675) A = *Æpelred* A; *Æþered* C = *Æpelred* C; *Æþered* a (contemporary with F) = *Æpelred* F; *Ædestan* C = *Æpelstan* A, E; *Æþestan* B = *Æpelstan* A, E; *Apewold* E = *Æpelwold* A; *Apulf* A, B, C, D, *Adewulf* F = *Æpelwulf* A, *Ædelwulf* E.

The loss of *l* in *æpel* is explained phonetically by some authors. BULBRING § 552 a, accounts for *Æderred* < *Æðilrēd*

as due to assimilation of *lr* to *rr*. In the Crawford Ch., ed. NAPIER-STEVENSON, p. 99, we find the remark that *l* seems to be frequently omitted in the name of *Æþelstan* after the beginning of the 11th cent. The forms above indicate, however, that *æþe* for *æþel* is not confined to any special position or any special time. We feel inclined to look upon *æþe*, *æþ* as shortened (pet-name) forms of *æþel*. Cf. *æþ* < *æþel* in the Liber Vitæ, MÜLLER (Palæstra IX), p. 99; *ad* < *adal*, *mad* < *madal*, STARK, Die Kosenamen der Germanen (Wien 1868) pp. 40, 42<sup>1</sup>.

Be that as it may, this much is certain, that in records of the 12th cent. both *æþel* and *æþe* often appear as *ægel*, *æge*, *ail*, *ai*. In Morsbach's opinion this change is due to French sound-substitution: — »Das für den Franzosen unaussprechbare intervokalische (stimmhafte) *þ* fällt entweder aus, oder wird durch die stimmhafte Spirans *j* ersetzt» (p. 305). For various reasons this explanation can hardly be the correct one. We have already seen that Norman (ð) < Lat. *t*, *d* was still kept at the time of the Conquest, and, moreover, *j* does not seem to be any likely substitute for (ð). We are of opinion that, after the loss of *þ*, *æil* < *æþel* was turned into *ægel*, *æil*, owing to a desire to avoid hiatus.

We will try and support this theory by adducing some parallel instances. In the first place, we may draw attention to Mod. Fr. »aimant», Engl. »adamant». The etymology of this word is Lat. *adamantem*, which, with loss of *d* and transition of *aë* to *ai(e)*, appears in O.Fr. as *aymant*, *aiemans*, *aemans* (Godefroy). The O.E. form *adāmans*, Cura Pastoralis (see N.E.D.), of which *athamant*, Chaucer, may be a continuation was borrowed at a time when the spirant was still preserved. Mod. English »adamant» corresponding to *adamant*, Chaucer, seems to owe its *d* to learned influence from the Latin word. M.E. *aimont*, Ayenbite, is, as regards its form, identical with O.Fr. *aymant*.<sup>1</sup> Another parallel is offered by O.Fr. *Aimer* < *Ademarus*, *Adamar*, containing a Germanic root *\*ada* or *\*hadu*. Cf. A. LONGNON, Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain (Paris 1895) vol. I, p. 276; MACKEL, p. 15; WALTEMATH, pp. 12, 38. — Lastly we may

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to *æþe* < *æþel* we also find *æge* < *ægel* in the A.S. Chr.: *Ægebertus* F = *Ægelbryht* A. In the Liber Vitæ we have noted *oid* < *oidil* (= *ēþel*): *oiduald* = *oidihuald*, Sweet, O.E.T., p. 145.

quote from D.B. itself *Oilard*, *Oidelard*, probably corresponding to O.H.G. *Othalhart*, see HILDEBRAND, p. 348; LONGNON, p. 355<sup>1</sup>.

From what has been said above it appears that at the time of the Conquest there must have existed various pronunciations of *æpel*, *æpe*: One with the dental retained, which was used both by Englishmen and Normans, another with loss of the dental owing to A.N. sound-change, and a third with *æi(e)* < *æë* likewise in accordance with Norman habits of speech. The existence of all these pronunciations may easily be proved by spellings from D.B. and other early records<sup>2</sup>.

1. The interdental spirant is kept (spelled *th*, *d*, cf. Appendix A): *Ædelſfete*; *Adelid*; *Adelard*; *Athelwold*, *Adelunald*, *Edelunold*, *Adeold*; *Adelulf*, *Adulf*, *Edeulf*; *Adelric*, *Edelric*, *Ætheri-*

<sup>1</sup> Though it seems to be a matter beyond all doubt that *æpel* > *ægel* is due to French influence, some uncertainty remains as to the way in which the transition has taken place. A glide (j) may have been developed between *a* and *e*. Cf. above p. 92 *hee* > *heie* etc. This theory seems to gain in probability when we consider the occurrence of such a form as *aiemans* < *aemans*. On the other hand, the opinion generally held by French scholars is that the unstressed *e* was changed to *i*, whereupon *i* coalesced with the preceding *a* to a diphthong *ai* (*adamantem* > *aëmant* > *aimant* > *aimant*). Cf. NYROP, Gramm. § 275. In this case the spelling *ægel* in early Engl. records would signify a pronunciation *æil* in one syllable. Obviously, the most handy way of expressing the sound-combination *æil* was to alter *æpel* into *ægel*. — To the Normans the spelling *ægel* for *ail* might have been easily suggested by the coexistence of such name-forms as *Agelberga*, *Ailberga*, *Agilmundus*, *Ailmundus* etc., *ægel* being a more archaic spelling when contrasted with *ail*, the purely phonetic one. More instances are afforded by LONGNON, Polyptyque, p. 278; WALTERMATH, p. 12. As to the sense and origin of O.Fr. *ægel* cf. LONGNON l.c., and ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Études sur la langue des Francs, Paris 1900, p. 9 f. The definite solution of the whole question is, no doubt, to be found in the name-forms of O.Fr. records of the 11th and early 12th cent. Such records have unfortunately not been accessible to us.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. ELLIS, the learned editor of the two last volumes of D.B., has brought together the various names occurring there in three lists: A tenants in capite in 1086, B owners of land under Edward the Confessor, C subtenants in 1086. These lists are to be found in vol. 3 of D.B. They are also printed in H. BARBER's British Family Names (London 1903). Most forms are incorporated with the material given by Searle. We have chosen our examples from the lists B and C, it being fairly certain that persons whose names are recorded there were mostly English by birth.

*cus* etc. (< *Æthel-*, *Æthe-* *flæd*, *gyth*, *-heard*, *-weald*, *-wulf*, *-ric*, Searle). To render O.E. *æ*, a sound between *e* and *a*, the Normans used their own symbols *e*, *a*, as well as O.E. *æ*. In D.B. the value of all three spellings, is, no doubt, (æ). Cf. STOLZE, p. 13.

2. The interdental spirant is lost. There are no certain examples in D.B. Unequivocal instances are offered, however, by spellings like *Æelman*, *Æelric* (< *Æthelman* *-ric*), on coins, and *Æelmund*, *Æeltwine* (< *Æthelmund*, *-wine*) from charters, Searle. Cf. also *Aelwyn*, Ramsey Ch. < *Æthelwine*, and *Aelesme*, *Adeelme* < *Æthelhelm*, Gaimar, v. 2411.

3. After the loss of the interd. spirant *æë* > *æi(e)*: *Ailbold*; *Ailbriht*; *Egilfride*, *Aifride*; *Ailiet*; *Æileva*, *Aileua*, *Eileua*; *Ailith*; *Ailardus*; *Agelmarus*, *Æilmar*, *Æilmer*, *Aimar*; *Agelricus*, *Æil-*, *Ail-*, *Æilric*; *Ailsi*; *Ægeluuardus*, *Ageluard*, *Aielvert*, *Ailvert*, *Ailuuard*; *Ailof*, *Aiolf* etc. (< *Æthel-*, *Æthe-* *beald*, *-beorht*, *-frith*, *-geat*, *gifu*, *-gyth*, *-heard*, *-mæc*, *-ric*, *-sige*, *-weard* *-wulf*). Though some of these instances may be due to O.E. *ægel*, *æge*, most of them, no doubt, represent a development of *æpel*, *æpe*.

In records of a more recent date than D.B. we note that the *æpel-* names so frequent in O.E.<sup>1</sup> rapidly grow less in number. At the same time *ail* becomes more usual than *æpel*. The old forms with *d* (*adel*) subsist, but *d* has, no doubt, in later records mostly the value of (d). Early instances (end of 12th and 13th cent.) of this (d) may be accounted for as due to French sound-substitution<sup>2</sup>. In later M.E. the possibility of English sound-development is not excluded<sup>3</sup>. Cf. above p. 97 ff.

Some instances adduced from various M.E. sources may serve to illustrate the mutual frequency of *athel*, *adel*, *ail*. In the Index to Ramsey Ch. (12 and 13 c.) the following orthographic variants for the name of one and the same person are noted: *Æthelwine*, Ealdorman of East Angles, *Ethelwin*, *Egeluwinus*,

<sup>1</sup> In Searle they fill nearly 30 pages; then comes *ælf*-with 23, whereas *eald*-only takes up 8, *ealh*- 5 pages.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O.Fr. *Adelaide* < *Adalheid*, *Lodier* < *Lōdhari*, see MACKEL, p. 169. In Gaimar O.E. *æpel* nearly always appears as *adal*, *edel*, where *d*, no doubt, has the value of (d). Thus RATHMANN, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> In an English grammar of 1701 there is a warning against the dialectal (Somerset) pron. »Addleston» for »Athelston». Cf. FÖRSTER, *Anglia* XXIV, p. 116. Here »Addle-», no doubt, represents the dialectal development *pl* > *dl*.

*Æilwin*, *Ailwin*; *Æthelwine* the Black or Swerte, *Ailwine*, *Eylwyn*, *Aelwyn*; *Æthelmær* bishop of Elmham, *Athelmar*, *Ægelmær*, *Ailmar*; *Æthelsige* 6th abbot of Ramsey, *Ægelsin*, *Ægelsi*, *Ailsi*, *Ailsy*, *Eilsin*, *Aelsi*.

In vols. 3 and 4 of the F.A. (1284—1431) we only find the following instances of names containing O.E. *æpel*: *Athelard*, *Athelwald*; *Adelarde*, *Adelwald*; *Aylward*, *Aylmer*,\* *Aymer*, *Eyldrich*.

The forms in *adel*, *ail* find their way also into the M.E. chronicles, where they occur side by side with the original ones. In the various MSS. of R.Gl., v. 5705, the forms *Æpelwold*, *Adelwold*, *Adþelwold* (blending) appear for one and the same person. *Æthelbeorht* of Kent is called *Aylbrizt*, v. 4741, *Ethelred* II., *Aildred*, v. 6006. Note also *Adelbrizt*, v. 5240, *adelston*, v. 5283. In R.Br., p. 46, we find *Eilred* for *Ethelred*, corresponding to *Eylrede*, *Eldrede*, Langtoft I, p. 344.

In course of time *athel* was superseded by *adel* and *ail*. Whereas in Bardsley's Dictionary of Mod. Engl. surnames several instances of *adel* and *ail* are noted, not a single example of *athel* is to be found. We will now give a short survey of the present forms, as recorded by Bardsley, followed by a few early references mainly from the Hundred Rolls, one of our principal sources of M.E. personal names.

### 1. *Adel*.

Adlin, Adling, BARDSLEY'S Dic., p. 41, Edlin, Edling<sup>1</sup>, p. 266, *Adelyne*, *Edeline*, *Atheline*, *Æþeline*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelwine* (or possibly *æþeling*).

Adlard, p. 40, *Adelard*, *Athelard*<sup>2</sup>, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelheard* (or possibly *Æthelweard*).

### 2. *Ail*.

Aylen, Ayling, Aylin, Aylwin, p. 70, *Ayline*, *Ailwine*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelwine* (or possibly *æþeling*).

<sup>1</sup> *Edel* for *Adel* may be due to (1) dialectal differences, cf. BÜLBRING § 91, MORSBACH, Mittelengl. Gramm., p. 128 ff., E.D. Gr. § 23; (2) another O.E. ground-form, viz. *ēþel* = *oiþil*, Liber Vitæ.

<sup>2</sup> *Athelard*, *Atheline*, *Athelston*, and *Athelem* < *Æthelhelm* are the only forms with *th* in the H.R.

Aylmer, Aymer, Aymar, p. 70, *Ailmar*, *Aylmer*, *Eylmer*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthel-*, *Æthemær*.

Ayliffe, Aylieff, p. 70, *Aylzeva* (c. 1300), Gl. Recs. < O.E. *Æthelgifu* or *Æthelwulf*. This latter is certainly the source of *Eylof* (c. 1300), Gl. Recs., *Ayloff* (1500, 1698, 1702), see BARDSLEY.

Aylett, Ayllett, Aylot, p. 70, *Ayllyth*, *Ayllyht*, *Aylet*, *Aylede*, *Ailot*, H.R., no doubt < O.E. *Æthelgyth* and *Æthelnoth*<sup>1</sup>.

Aylward, Aylard, p. 70, *Aylward*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelweard*.

### b. *Confusion of æpel with ælf, eald, ealh.*

We will now pass on to the second question: How is it that *æpel* was soon confused with *ælf*, *eald*, *ealh*? No doubt the reason is that *æpel* was changed into *æl*. Hence names like *Æthelflæd* and *Ælflæd* were at once levelled under the same form, and this must have been the case with many others, by the loss of one consonant in position between two others<sup>2</sup>. This levelling, which, consequently, was phonetic in many names the second element of which commenced with a consonant (*Æthel-*, *Ælf-*, *Ealhsige* etc.), might then easily be analogically extended to those in which the second element commenced with a vowel. We must also bear in mind that owing to A.N. influence *ælf*, *eald*, and probably also *ealh*, were liable to lose their final consonant independent of position before a consonant or a vowel. Cf. *felle* < Engl. *feld* in D.B., STOLZE, p. 41, and *ol* < *olf* < *wulf* instanced by such D.B. forms as *Ardul* and *Ardulf*, *Torul* and *Torolf* etc., HILDEBRAND, p. 350<sup>3</sup>.

Our first undoubted instances of *æl*, *al* < *æpel* are from D.B. Though such name-forms as *Alstan*, *Alsige*, *Alwine* etc.,

<sup>1</sup> A person, who in Florence of Wo. (Mon. Brit.) is called *Dunstan*, son of *Æthelneth*, appears in Langtoft I, p. 396, as *D. fiz. Ageleth*, corresponding to *Agilet*, R.Br. In *Aylet*, *Ailot* A.N. *t* is substituted for English *th*. The loss of *g*, *n* after *l* may also be due to French influence.

<sup>2</sup> Such a loss is recorded very early: *wulsig* < *wulfsig*; *seoluini* < *seolhuini*, Liber Vitæ (MÜLLER, p. 28, p. 34); *Ælstanus* F, A.S. Chr. = *Ælfstan* D; *Alwold* F = *Ælfwold* E. Cf. also M.E. *halter* < O.E. *hælfter*.

<sup>3</sup> In some cases *æpel* is levelled under *eald* by metathesis: *Audebert* < *Æthelberht*, Gaimar, see RATHMANN, p. 54. Cf. also O.F. *Maudebert* < *Maldebert* < *Madalbert*, MACKEL, p. 169.

D.B., may be due to the corresponding O.E. compounds in *ælf*, *eald*, *ealh* — which, besides, frequently occur as *ælf*, *alf*, *æld*, *ald*, *alch*, *alche* (cf. Searle) with their final consonant kept — it is, on the other hand, a matter beyond all doubt that in many, not to say most instances, they go back to an O.E. ground-form *æpel*. In the Vict. Hist. of Surrey (see the Index to D.B. names) we are expressly told that *Alnod*, D.B., is identical with Æthelnoth of Canterbury. Searle, p. 66, identifies *Almar*, D.B., with Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham (in Ramsey Ch. called *Ailmar* etc., cf. above). — In some cases we have established the identity by comparing the nearly contemporary Exon and Exchequer versions of Dv. D.B. For the name of one and the same person we have found the following alternative spellings: *Ailnod*, Exon = *Alnod*, Excheq.; *Aimar* (< *æpe*), Exon = *Almæ* (< *æpel*), Excheq.; *Almar* (< *æpel*), Exon = *Ædmær* (< *æpe*), Excheq.; *Ailsi*, Exon = *Alsi*, Excheq.; *Adestan*, Exon = *Alestan*, Excheq. (often).

It still remains to decide how *æpel* has been changed into *æl*. This transition can hardly be due to English sound-change. According to several authors, there should have existed in O.E. besides *æpe* one more shortened (pet-name) form of *æpel*, viz. *æl*, which, though of rare occurrence in the written language, might have been quite usual in everyday speech<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, as in the records *æl* for *æpel* did not become usual until the time of the Conquest, we must strongly suspect French influence. Then *æl* may have originated either directly from O.E. *æpl*, with already syncopated *e*, or from *ævil*, with later syncopation of *e*, another means of avoiding the hiatus. — This is indeed the regular development of O.F. names containing Germanic *adal* etc. Cf. LONGNON, Polyptyque, p. 277, MACKEL, p. 16, p. 135, and such D.B. forms as *Matelger*, *Maelger*, *Malger* < *Madalger*, HILDEBRAND, p. 353. — In this place we may add that to account for *Aaluf* in the French version of King Horn we need not assume with Mors-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MÜLLER, p. 4, who points to *ælberct*, Liber Vitæ, as one instance; Searle has a few more references. Some instances of *mal* < *madal*, *al* < *adal* are also explained as pet-name forms by STARK, Die Kosenamen, p. 46, p. 49. If those really are taken from original MSS. of the early date stated (7th and 8th cent.) the existence of *al* as a pet-name form of *adal* must be considered as proved.

bach (p. 311) an O.E. ground-form *Aþalwulf*. *Aaluf* may be due to *Aeluf* < *Æthelwulf*, with subsequent assimilation of *ae* to *aa*. For similar O.Fr. instances cf. MACKEL, p. 16, p. 135.

The levelling of *æpel* and *ælf*, *eald*, *ealh* under *æl*, *al* gives rise to great orthographic confusion. In MSS. of the 12th and 13th cent. old and new forms occur promiscuously for the name of one and the same person. This state of things may be illustrated by some instances derived from various sources. *Ælfnof*, A.S. Chr., sheriff of He., occurs in Florence of Wo. (Mon. Brit.) as *Agelnoth*. Cf. Searle, p. 45. The same person is called *Elfgiva* in William of Malmesbury, and *Æthelgeovu* in Florence of Wo. Cf. Searle, p. 38. — In the Inq. El. we have noted the following variants: *Ælricus* = *Ælfricus* = *Alricus*; *Alfpinus* = *Alwinus* = *Ælwinus*; *Aluold* = *ædelwold* = *alfwold*. — *Æthelwulf*, bishop of Carlisle, is recorded in the Fr.Ch. as *Adelulf*, *Adelolf*, *Aelolf*, *Aldulf*. — Ramsey Chartulary, so rich in variants, offers some instances of alternative forms which may all of them be considered as developments of *æpel*: *Ethelwin* = *Ailwin* = *Alwin*, *Ethelric* = *Etheric* = *Helric*, though, on the other hand, the confusion is also well instanced: *Aylsi* = *Elsin* = *Alxi* (< *ealh*), *Alfwin* = *Ailwine*, *Athelwold* = *Alfwold*, *Ailwin* = *Alfwine* = *Ælwyn*, *Athelred* = *Ealdred* = *Ealriedus*. — In R.Gl. we have noted the variants *adelstone*, *aleston*, *alcston*, v. 5233; *Elfled*, ib., v. 5428 and *Alfed*, v. 5474, are, according to Wright (see Index to names), identical with O.E. *Æthelflæd*. — Lastly we will adduce a few instances from O.F. chronicles: *Alestain*, Benoit, v. 1656 = O.E. *Æthelstan*; *Adelbriet*, Gaimar, v. 87 = *Albriet*, ib., v. 90, *Adlestan*, *Elstan*, ib., v. 2259 = *Ealhstan*, A.S. Chr., *Adelher*, *Alker*, ib., v. 2498 = *Ealhere*, A.S. Chr.; *Eldres d'Engletierre*, Mousket, v. 15254, *Eldré: Dé*, ib., v. 16508 = King Ethelred; *Alred*, Rou, v. 260, *Æilred*, ib., v. 1255 = King Ethelred II.; *Elfrid*, Wace, corresponding to *Ædilfrid*, Bede, according to MADDEN, *Lazamon* III, p. 422.

Present English surnames still preserve some traces of the old forms in *æl* < *æpel* etc. The following examples are taken from Bardsley's Dictionary. Also here we have added some references from the H.R.

Aldrich, p. 45, *Aldrich*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelric* etc.

All-, Albright, p. 47, *Albert*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelbeorht*.

Allnutt, p. 49, *Alnath*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelnoth*; *t* is due to French sound-substitution.

Elmer, Elmar<sup>1</sup>, p. 271, *Elmer* (1284), K.Q. < O.E. *Æthelmær*.

Allard, Allardson, Ellard, p. 47, p. 269, *Alward*, *Elward*, H.R., *Alardus*, T.N., *Alard*, F.A. < O.E. *Æthelweard*.

Alwin, Alwine, Alwyne, Elwin, Elwyn, p. 70, p. 273, *Alwine*, *Elwin*, H.R. < O.E. *Æthelwine*.

If *el*, *al* in the above-mentioned instances is due to original *æpel* or *ælf*, *eald*, *ealh* cannot be definitely settled.

Our conclusions as regards the development of *æpel* may be summed up as follows. At the end of the 11th cent. O.E. *æpel* assumes four different forms:

1. Original *æpel* with the interdental spirant kept. This purely English form exists throughout M.E. times. From the middle of the 12th cent. or somewhat earlier a form appears in *d* (=the dental stop), probably due to the combined effects of A.N. sound-substitution and English sound-development. Contrary to the fate of *æpel*, this form is still kept in the present English surnames.

2. *æil* with loss of *p* owing to A.N. sound-change. *æil* may be considered as a transitional form of short duration. The Normans were not very partial to the combination *æil*. Various means were used to get rid of the hiatus which had resulted from the dropping of *p*.

3. *ail*, no doubt, a further A.N. development of *æil*. Hiatus was avoided by turning *æë* into *ei*. This form seems to have been the most popular one in M.E., and as *ail* or *el* it has been preserved to this day in various English surnames.

4. *al*, either due to an O.E. shortened form of *æpel*, which, though very rarely recorded, may have been usual in everyday-speech, or what is more likely, another A.N. development of *æil*. Hiatus was here avoided by dropping *e*. Present English surnames preserve some traces also of this form.

<sup>1</sup> As to *el* by the side of *al*, cf. our previous remark on *adel*, *edel*. *el* may also have arisen from *ail* either by A.N. monophthongizing (cf. M.E. *frele* = N.E. 'frail') or by shortening in English itself after the transition of *ai* > *ē*.

The development may be illustrated by the following table.

|                                        |   |                                  |   |                                                                |  |
|----------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| O.E. <i>æþel</i> > (end<br>of 11th c.) | { | <i>æþel</i> > (e. M.E.)          | { | <i>athel, ethel</i> (now lost).                                |  |
|                                        |   |                                  |   | <i>adel, edel</i> > (N.E.) <i>adl, edl</i> .                   |  |
|                                        | { | <i>æel</i> > (end of<br>11th c.) | { | <i>æl</i> > (e. M.E.) { <i>al.</i><br><i>el.</i>               |  |
|                                        |   |                                  |   | <i>æil</i> > (e. M.E. & N.E.) { <i>ail, eil.</i><br><i>el.</i> |  |

## 2. *æþel* in place-names.

After this somewhat detailed discussion of the development of O.E. *æþel* in personal names we may pass on to place-names containing *æþel*, the various forms of which will be easily understood after the foregoing investigation.

We have divided our material into two groups, according to the greater or less degree of certainty with which the etymology may be established.

### a. Place-names which to judge by old forms on record contained O.E. *æþel*.

#### α. The present forms exhibit th.

1. Athelhampton (Do.), pron. »Athelton», Hope; called *Athelhamstone* in Index Villarum (1668), *Athel Hampton* on the map in Camden. 2. Athelney (Sm.), pron. (ædelnī), Tanger < O.E. *Æþelinga eigg, -ig*, A.S. Chron., *Æthelinga ege*, Kemble. 3. Atherstone (Sm.) pron. (æðəstən), Tanger < O.E. *Æthelheard*, Searle. 4. Athelington (Sf.), pron. »Allington», Hope, < O.E. *æþeling*.

D.B. *Adelingi*<sup>2</sup>, *Adelingensis*<sup>2</sup>. Geld. Inq. *Adelingeres*<sup>2</sup> (1086).

13th c. — **Athelney** Reg. *Alardeston*<sup>3</sup> (1225), *Athelardeston*<sup>3</sup> (1251). **C.R.** *Pidel' athelamston*<sup>1</sup> (79—88). **Ch.R.** *Atheligeneye*<sup>2</sup> (1267). **Muchelney and Athelney Ch.** *Atheligeny*<sup>2</sup> (1254), *Athelney*<sup>2</sup>, *Alyngenie*<sup>2</sup>. **Sm. K.Q.** *Athelnigg*<sup>2</sup>, *Aveingleye*<sup>2</sup>, *Alegine*<sup>2</sup>, *Athelingleye*<sup>2</sup>, *Aling*<sup>2</sup>. **Sm. S.R.** *Athelarstone*<sup>3</sup> (1272). **Sf. P.F.** *Alliton*<sup>4</sup> (1202), *Allington*<sup>4</sup> (1218), *Athelinton*<sup>4</sup> (1234), *Athelington*<sup>4</sup> (1254).

14th c. — **F.A.** *Athelhamston*<sup>1</sup>, *Athelmanstone*<sup>1</sup>, *Athelardeston*<sup>3</sup> (1303), *Adelardeston*<sup>3</sup> (1346). **P.R.** *Athelney*<sup>2</sup> (99—1401). **Sm. N.V.** *Athel-yng*<sup>2</sup> (1316). **Sm. P.F.** *Athelardeston*<sup>3</sup>. **Sf. P.F.** *Allington*<sup>4</sup>. **Sf. S.R.** *Ayllington*<sup>4</sup> (1327).

15th c. — **Index.** *Alyngton*<sup>4</sup> (1477). **P.R.** *Athelney*<sup>2</sup> (67—77).

β. *The present forms exhibit d.*

1. Admington (Gl.) < O.E. *Æthelm* or *Æthelhelm*, Searle. 2. Adlington (La.) < O.E. *æþeling* or *Æthelwine*, Searle. 3. Edlington (Li.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 4. Adlingfleet (Yo.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 5. Edlington (Yo.) < O.E. *æþeling*.

D.B. *Edelmintone*<sup>1</sup>, *Ellingetone*<sup>3</sup>, *Tedlintune*<sup>3</sup>, *Adelengesfluet*<sup>4</sup>, *El-lintone*<sup>5</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Hedlingt.*<sup>3</sup> (1170), *Adelingfleoth*<sup>4</sup> (1154).

13th c. — Ch.R. *Adilmington*<sup>1</sup> I, *Edlinton*<sup>3</sup> I, *Edelington*<sup>3</sup> II, *Adlingflet*<sup>4</sup> II. H.R. *Edeling*-, *Edlington*<sup>3</sup>. Index. *Edelineton*<sup>3</sup> (1297). La. P.F. *Adelvinton*<sup>2</sup> (1202). T.N. *Edlington*<sup>3</sup>. Yo. I.P.M. *Athelingflet*<sup>4</sup> (1274).

14th c. — F.A. *Adelminton*<sup>1</sup>, *Edelington*<sup>3</sup>. Index. *Athelyngflet*<sup>4</sup> (1366). Yo. N.V. *Adthelingflet*<sup>4</sup>, *Edelington*<sup>5</sup>.

15th c. — P.R. *Adlyngflete*<sup>4</sup> (67—77).

γ. *The present forms exhibit al, el.*

1. Allington (Do.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 2. Ellingham (Ha.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 3. Elton (Hu.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 4. Aloes Bridge Hundred (Ke.) < *Æthelwulf*, Searle. 5. Allextion (Le.)? < O.E. \**Ætheloc* or *Heaþulac*, Searle. 6. Allington (Li.) < O.E. *æþeling*. 7. Ellerton (Sh.) < O.E. *Æþelheard*, Searle. 8. Albrighton (Sh.) < *Æthelbeorht*, Searle. 9. Albrightlee (Sh.) < O.E. *Æthelbeorht*, Searle. 10. Ellaston (St.), cf. Allextion (Le.). 11. Allington (Wl.) < O.E. *æþeling*.

D.B. *Adelington*<sup>1</sup>, *Adelingeþam*<sup>2</sup>, *Adelintune*<sup>3</sup>, *Adelovesbrige*<sup>4</sup>, *Adilovtesbrige*<sup>4</sup>, *Adelachestone*<sup>5</sup>, *Adelingetone*<sup>6</sup>, *Adelinctune*<sup>6</sup>, *Etbritone*<sup>8</sup>, *Albricstone*<sup>8</sup>, *Etbretelie*<sup>9</sup>, *Edelache*-, *Elachestone*<sup>10</sup>, *Adeling*-, *Allen*-, *Alestone*<sup>11</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Alinge*-, *Elingueham*<sup>2</sup>. Index. *Halak.*<sup>5</sup>, *Alakeston*<sup>5</sup>. Le.S. *Adelactone*<sup>5</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Albrichton*<sup>8</sup> I, *Edbrittleg*<sup>9</sup>, *Aling*-, *Alle*-, *Aleton*<sup>11</sup>. F.A. *Athelington*<sup>1</sup> (1284), *Aluffesbrogg*<sup>4</sup>, (1284), *Ethelarton*<sup>7</sup> (1284), *Albricton*<sup>8</sup>. H.R. *Aylington*<sup>3</sup>, *Alingtone*<sup>3</sup> *Adlig*-, *Alinton*<sup>6</sup>, *Albriton*<sup>8</sup>, *Alington*<sup>11</sup>. I.P.M. *Harthelakeston*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. III.). P.R. *Atheloxton*<sup>5</sup> (72—81). Ramsey Ch. *Æthelyngtone*<sup>3</sup>, *Hathelintone*<sup>3</sup>, *Athelinton*<sup>3</sup>, *Adelyngtona*<sup>3</sup>, *Adelington*<sup>3</sup>, *Ayllington*<sup>3</sup> (1251), *Ailingtona*<sup>3</sup> *Aylington*<sup>3</sup> (1244), *Alitona*<sup>3</sup>. T.N. *Aligeton*<sup>3</sup>, *Alin*-, *Alington*<sup>6</sup>, *Albritton*<sup>8</sup>, *Atbritton*<sup>8</sup>, *Adlac*-, *Adlas*-, *Adthelaxton*<sup>10</sup>, *Alington*<sup>11</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Athelocston*<sup>5</sup> (13—18). Cat. A.D. *Aylington*<sup>3</sup> (1316). F.A. *Elyingham*<sup>2</sup> (1316, 46), *Ailington*<sup>3</sup> (1316), *Aloluesbrigge*<sup>4</sup> (1316), *Alouesbregg*<sup>4</sup> (1346), *Adlington*<sup>6</sup> (1316), *Alyngton*<sup>3</sup> (1303, 46), *Albryghton*<sup>3</sup> (1316). Index. *Alyngton*<sup>3</sup> (1392).

15th c. — F.A. *Athelington*<sup>1</sup> (1428), *Elyngham*<sup>2</sup> (1428), *Aylington*<sup>3</sup>, *Adelokston*<sup>5</sup> (1428). I.P.M. *Adloxton*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. VII.).

16th c. — Index. *Aylyngton*<sup>3</sup> al. *Aileton*<sup>3</sup> (1517).

b. *Place-names which, though no old forms with th, d are on record, in all probability contained O.E. æþel.*

α. *The present forms exhibit ai(l).*

1. Aylscot (Dv.) < O.E. *Æthelwulf*, Searle. 2. Aylsford (Dv.) < O.E. *Æthelwulf*, Searle. 3. Aylburton (Gl.) < O.E. *Æthelbeorht*, Searle. 4. Aymes-trey (He.) < O.E. *Æthelmund*, Searle. 5. Aylmerton (Nf.) < O.E. *Æthelmær*, Searle.

D.B. *Ailevescota*<sup>1</sup>, Exon, *Eilevescote*<sup>1</sup>, Excheq., *Ailavesfort*<sup>2</sup>, Exon, *Eilavesford*<sup>2</sup>, Excheq., *Almartune*<sup>5</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Albrithton*<sup>3</sup> (79—88). Ch.R. *Ailbricton*<sup>3</sup> (1224), cf. corrigenda in vol. II., *Aylmerton*<sup>5</sup> (1281). F.A. *Ayberton*<sup>3</sup> (1284). H.R. *Albricton*<sup>3</sup>, *Ailm'eton*<sup>5</sup>. T.N. *Albricton*<sup>3</sup>, *Elbrichtona*<sup>3</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Aylmerston*<sup>5</sup> (18—23). F.A. *Ales*-, *Alscote*<sup>1</sup>, *Aylesford*<sup>2</sup>, *Ailberton*<sup>3</sup> (1303), *Aylbrizton*<sup>3</sup>, *Aiberrton*<sup>3</sup> (1316), *Aywerton*<sup>3</sup> (1346), *Aylmondestre*<sup>4</sup> (1303, 46), *Aylmerton*<sup>5</sup> (1316).

15th c. — F.A. *Ailberton*<sup>3</sup> (1402). I.P.M. *Aylemerton*<sup>5</sup> (Hen. VII.). P.R. *Aywarton*<sup>3</sup> (61—67).

β. *The present forms exhibit a(l), e(l).*

1. Arlsey (Bd.) < O.E. *Æthelric*, Searle. 2. Elvaston (Db.) < O.E. *Æthelweald*, Searle. 3. Alveley (Es.) < O.E. *Æthelgifu*, Searle. 4. Elberton (Gl.) < *Æthelbeorht*, Searle. 5. Elmston (Gl.) < O.E. *Æþelmund*, Searle. 6. Elms-tree (Gl.) < O.E. *Æthelmund*, Searle. 7. Abbotsley (Hu.) < O.E. *Æthelbeald*, Searle. 8. Allington Hundred (Ke.), called Elnothington in LARKING'S D.B. of Kent < O.E. *Æthelnoth*, Searle. 9. Elmsthorpe (Le.) < O.E. *Æthelmær*, Searle. 10. Aldrebury Hundred (Wl.) < O.E. *Æthelweard*, Searle.

D.B. *Alriceseia*<sup>1</sup>, *Alevvoldestune*<sup>2</sup>, *Ælvvoldestune*<sup>2</sup>, *Eldbertone*<sup>4</sup>, *Almundestan*<sup>5</sup>, *Alnoitune*<sup>8</sup>, *Alwarberie*<sup>10</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Aelivaleio*<sup>3</sup>, *Aliuelia*<sup>3</sup>. Index. *Aluualdestona*<sup>2</sup>.

13th c. — Ch.R. *Ailricheseye*<sup>1</sup> I, *Alverycheseye*<sup>1</sup> II. F.A. *Aylmerthorpe*<sup>9</sup> (1284). Gl. Recs. *Ayl*-, *Almundeston*<sup>5</sup> (1240). H.R. *Aylwarde*-, *Alwardebyr*<sup>10</sup>. Index. *Ailricheseya*<sup>1</sup> (1206), *Alrichesheye*<sup>1</sup> (1251), *Haurich*<sup>1</sup> (1255), *Arlichesie*<sup>1</sup> (Hen. III.), *Alwaston*<sup>2</sup> (1282), *Elmundestruo*<sup>6</sup> (1201), *Ailmundestre*<sup>3</sup>, (1212). Ramsey Ch. *Alboldesle*<sup>7</sup>, *Albodesleye*<sup>7</sup>, *Aylboldelle*<sup>7</sup>, *Addeboldesteye*<sup>7</sup>. T.N. *Alwalde*-, *Alvaldeston*<sup>2</sup>, *Aywaldeston*<sup>2</sup>, *Eylnothynnton*<sup>8</sup>, *Alwarebir*<sup>10</sup>, *Alwardebur*<sup>10</sup>.

- 14th c. — F.A. *Alwaston*<sup>2</sup>, *Aylwaston*<sup>2</sup>, *Aylberton*<sup>4</sup> (1303), *Aylbryghton*<sup>4</sup> (1346), *Eylnothinton*<sup>6</sup> (1346). Index. *Arlechy*<sup>1</sup> (1386), *Ayllewaston*<sup>2</sup> (1322). P.R. *Ail*, *Aylwaston*<sup>2</sup> (77—81).
- 15th c. — F.A. *Aylmerthorpe*<sup>9</sup> (1428). Gl. Recs. *Ayleberton*<sup>4</sup> (1437). Index. *Artchesey*<sup>1</sup> (1402), *Erleshey*<sup>1</sup> (1438).

No doubt, the majority of instances brought together in list b represent developments of original *æþel*. A few criteria may be pointed out. If the second element of the name contains *-mund*, *ælf* cannot well be contained in the first, no O.E. \**Ælfmund* being recorded. If early spellings exist in *al*, as well as *ail*, which, indeed, is the case with the majority of our examples, this seems to point to original *æþel*. Cf. the early forms of a Hundred in Np. now lost: *Egelweardesle* (1076), Geld. Inq.; *Alwardeslea*, D.B.; *Aylwoldesle*, Np.S., no doubt < O.E. *Æthelweard*, Searle.

As we have been unable to ascertain the modern pronunciation, except in a very small number of cases, we have classified our material according to the *present spelling*, though we are quite aware of some incongruities having resulted from this arrangement. Thus Athelington (Sf.), pron. »Allington», Hope, would perhaps better have been placed with the examples in list a γ, Elton (Hu.) and others, in which *el*, in all probability, is due to earlier *ail*, with those in b α etc.

As to the explanation of old and modern forms we need not add much to what has been said already. All the developments we have found in personal names compounded with *æþel* are represented also here. Original (ð) is still pronounced only in Athelney, Athelhampton, and Atherstone (a α). More usual is *adel*, but whether the *d* is due to French sound-substitution or English sound-development cannot well be decided in every special case. Undoubted instances of *ail* are few, but their number will swell considerably if we add the numerous forms in *el*, which often go back to earlier *ail*. Here may belong Elton (Hu.), (a γ), Elberton (Gl.), Elmston (Gl.), Elmstree (Gl.), Elms-thorpe (Le.) (b β). *al* and *el* are astonishingly well represented. It may be pointed out that to O.E. *æþeling* corresponded O.Fr. *edelin*, *edeling*, *elin* (Godefroy). Note that with reference to the same place, Elton (Hu.) (a γ), all four forms *apel*, *adel*, *ayl*, *al* occur in 13th cent. spellings in Ramsey Ch.

## Appendix A. Various ways of rendering (þ), (ð) in early English and Anglo-Norman MSS. —

As to the various ways of rendering (þ), (ð) in A.N. texts, we find above all *d*, which, of course, is the historic spelling. Finally there is an interchange of *t* and *d* = (þ), (ð).<sup>1</sup> Of more scarce occurrence are the symbols *p̄*, *ð̄*, which, naturally, must have been borrowed from English. Cf. Menger, p. 39; Varnhagen, *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.* X, p. 296 ff. Lastly, we also find *th* and *dh*.

*th* as an orthographic symbol was well known in O.F., where it was employed particularly in learned Latin words. Alternating with *t* it was also used to render Germanic (þ) in proper names. Cf. Sweet, H.E.S. § 600; Waltemath, p. 56. Thus used, it had certainly in both cases the value of (t). Now we may very well ask: how came *th* to be used in order to denote (þ), (ð)? Gaston Paris in his Introduction to Alexis, p. 95, assumes that the Normans borrowed it from English. This suggestion leads us to examine the various ways in which the interdental spirant was rendered in O.E. and early M.E. MSS.

On this point Sweet, H.E.S. § 516, gives the following information: — »*p̄* is generally denoted by the Latin *th* in the oldest mss, especially initially and finally, which *th* is sometimes

<sup>1</sup> A few times intervocalic (d) is, curiously enough, rendered by *t*: *Porlemute*, Exch. D.B., *Porlemuta*, Exon D.B. (see list A); *Rute*, D.B. (see F 1); *Smethedune*, *Smetedune*, D.B. = Smithdon (Nf.) < O.E. *smēþe*, etc. It is not impossible that intervocalic *t* for *d* is often due to mere carelessness. Finally there was a regular interchange of *t* and *d* — not only of *t*, *d* = (þ), (ð), but also of *t*, *d* = (t) — and by thoughtlessness this interchange may have been graphically transferred to other positions. But there is another possibility which must also be taken into account. We know that in O.F. Latin *t* and *d* under certain circumstances were changed to spirants, and subsequently lost. Nevertheless, the French scribes — to whom the etymological ground-forms not only of many Latin words, but also of a great many Germanic personal names and place-names were well known — when they wrote in Latin endeavoured to keep *t* and *d* etymologically apart, which, naturally, often caused one to be put for the other. That this really was the case is clearly seen from the early spellings of several places in Normandy. Thus Tosny (Eure) occurs in the 12th cent. both as *Totteneium* and *Todiniacum*. All other forms exhibit loss of the dental. See Dic. Topogr. de l'Eure.

abbreviated to *t* (Ep.Gl.). Medial *þ* is often denoted by *d*, which also occurs finally, and even initially (Ep.Gl.). The Runic *þ* is rare in Ep., as also *ð*. Ep. has once *ðh*; also *þh*, *ðh* occur (blendings). In the later Anglian texts *ð* is universal, as also in most of the oldest W.S. and Kt. mss. In some early W.S. mss *þ*, however, predominates.» So far Sweet; we have, besides, ascertained that, though more seldom, *d* occurs by the side of *þ*, *ð* in the following texts: Liber Vitæ of Du. (8th c.), cf. MÜLLER (Palæstra IX), p. 29; Vesp. Ps. (9th c.), also *ð* for *d*, cf. SWEET, O.E.T., p. 187; Rit. of Du. (10th c.), cf. LINDELÖF, p. 67; Gospel of St. Mark (Rushworth MS. 10th c.), also *ð* for *d*, cf. MISS LEA (Anglia XVI), p. 125, p. 127; Rule of S. Benet (c. 1020), also *ð* for *d*, LOGEMAN, p. LII f. Also in several e. M.E. texts *d* occurs for *ð*, and vice-versa. Cf. BERBERICH, Herb. Apul., p. 9; LUCHT, Lazamon, p. 65.

The result of our examination is that, though *þ*, *ð* is the most usual way of denoting the interdental spirant in O.E. and early M.E. MSS., also *d* occurs sporadically all through. Besides, *th* has been noted not unfrequently, particularly in names, where it certainly had the value of (þ), (ð). When used in A.N. MSS. to denote the interdental spirant, *th* may, consequently, very well have been borrowed from English.

#### Appendix B. Orthographic confusion between the symbols *d* and *i*, *g* in the diphthong *ei*, *ai* etc. —

When for the same place in MSS. of about the same time or even in the very same MSS. we find such alternative forms as *Lachinchede*, *Lagingehce*, *Lachingeia*, *Saltrede*, *Saltreye* (see list D 1, 2) it goes without saying that spellings like *-hede*, *-rede* could indicate three different pronunciations: *heite*, *hee*, *heie*; *reite*, *ree*, *reie*. Hence it follows that on the one hand *d* could sometimes be inserted between two vowels in words where it was not etymologically justified, while on the other the notion might easily be entertained that in spellings like *-hede*, *-rede* *d* really denoted the glide (j). Consequently, as *-ede* was equal to *-ee*, *-eie* < O.E. *-epe*, we also, conversely, find *-ede* for O.E. *-eie*, *-ege*. Thus Eastry (Ke.) appears in D.B. as *Estrede*, *Estrea*, *Estrei*. O.E. forms of this place are *Eastrege*, *Eastorege*, *Easterge*, Kemble

153, 191, 195, *Eosterege* (a. 811), Index, so the suffix obviously contains O.E. *ēg*, Mdf. p. 49. — Swavesey (Cb.), *Svavesye*, *Svavesy*, D.B., *Suauiseye* (1260), P.F., *Swaveseye* (1346), F.A., is derived by SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 54, from an O.E. \**Swæfeseġ*, -*ig*. The forms *Suauesheda*, I.C.C., which has escaped his attention, is to be explained in the same way as *Estrede*, D.B.

Other instances of *d* for *i*, *g*, in the diphthong *ei*, *ai*, are *Cuselade*, *Crucheslaga*, D.B. = Whixley (Yo.), *Quixelay*, T.N., *Quixley*, H.R., *Whixeley* (1307—13), C.R.; *Trulleda*, *Trullea*, *Thrulege*, Fr.Ch. = Throwley (Ke.), *Thruleghe*, *Thurlegh*, F.A.; *Jackeslada*, *Jakle*, Ch.R. I = Yaxley (Hu.), *Jakele*, H.R. The second element of all these three places is O.E. *lēah*, *lēage*. Also in such forms as *Ledecestre*, D.B., *Lepecæstre* (1124), A.S. Chr. E = Leicester (Le.), *Legra*, *Ligraceaster*, A.S. Chr. B, D, E., *d*, *þ*, in all probability, stand for *i*, *g*. Loss of *r* before the following consonant — which, moreover, is very usual in A.N. — may here be due to dissimilation; another possibility is confusion with *Legeceaster*, A.S. Chr. = Chester (Ch.), of which also a form with unetymological *r* appears in the A.S. Chr., viz. *Legercyestre*, MS. a. A second example of *d* for *g* in the A.S. Chr. is *Widrecestrescir* E = *Wigrecestrescir*, ib.

The opposite phenomenon, *g* for *d*, we have also noted in a few cases. Nether Avon (Wl.) occurs in D.B. as *Nigravre*, which spelling has been interpreted »nigrum arvum» by JONES in his D.B. of Wl. In our opinion *Nigravre* stands for *Nidravre* < O.E. *nīperavene* (in the Fr.Ch. the place is called *Nideravena*), with *g* for *d* and transition of *n* to *r*. Cf. O.Fr. *havre* < Germ. *hæfene* (Körting). — Stevenage (Ht.) is called *Stigenace* in D.B. Other early spellings are *Stichenæce*, Kemble 178, corrected to *Stithenæce* by Thorpe, *Stidenach* (John), Rotuli Curiae Regis. With some hesitation SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Ht., p. 66, derives the name of the place from the O.E. formula *æt þære stiþan hæcce*, but adds that *g* in D.B. seems to point to *Stichen*-. The supposition that *g* stands for *d* at once solves every difficulty. Later forms *Steben*-, *Steven*-, *Stiven*- exemplify the sporadic transition of *d* > *v*; then popular etymology may have connected the first element of the word with the usual Norman name Stephen. — A third example of *g* for *d* is *Sichemug*, Fr.Ch. = Sidmouth (Dv.).

### Appendix C. Loose *s* between two place-name compounds. —

That in Chelsea (Mi.) < O.E. *Cælic hyþ*, Earle (see list D 2) etymological (t/) has been replaced by *s* is perhaps best explained thus: an inorganic *s* has been inserted between the two compounds *Chelch-* and *-ey* (< *-heth*), whereupon (t/) was lost before *s*: \**Chelchey* (< *Chelcheth*) > \**Chelchsey* > *Chellsaye*. A similar development has taken place in the following place-names: Arlsey (Bd.), *Ailricheseya* (1206), *Arlechy* (1386), Index < O.E. *Æthelric*, Searle; Hildersham (Cb.), *Hildricesham*, D.B., *Hildrichesham*, I.C.C. < O.E. *Hilderic*, Searle; Aldersgate (London), *Aldrichgate* (1428), F.A.? < O.E. *Ealdric*, Searle; Gothersley (St.), *Godrichesley*, *Godericheley* (14 c.), see DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 69 < O.E. *Godric*, Searle; Atherstone (Wa.), *Adericheston*, T.N., *Edriceston*, R.B., *Atherestone*, H.R. Cf. also e. N.E. *voutsafe* < *vouchsafe* (see HORN, Gramm. § 220 Anm. 2), where, however, the assimilation has not been fully carried out.

The uncertainty as to the use of *s* in the old forms of the above-mentioned places is noteworthy. In the following two place-names the forms with *s* have been kept in the local pron., whereas the present spelling presupposes loss of *s* and change of (t/) to (dʒ): Idridgehay (Db.), pron. »Ithersea», Hope, *Iddersey* (1574), Index, *Edrichey* (1638) ib. < O.E. *Eadric*, Searle; Sawbridgeworth (Ht.), pron. (sæpsə) < O.E. \**Sæberhteswyrþ*, cf. Introduction, p. 7.

Indeed, in numerous instances from our earliest sources there appears on the one hand an inorganic *s* between the two compounds of a place-name, while on the other *s* is often omitted in the same position, not only when it is a mark of the genitive, but also when it forms part of the word-stem itself. We will content ourselves with adducing the following instances of this very usual phenomenon: *Cheretowe* (1402), Index = Churchstow (Dv.) < O.E. *stōw*; *Hechesburne*, *Echeburne*, D.B. = Exbourne (Dv.), *Ekes-*, *Ekysburn*, F.A.; *Boystok*, *Boytok*, T.N. = Bystock (Dv.), *Boystok* (1303), F.A.; *Borchetelle*, D.B. = Borstall (Ke.) < O.E. *borgsteal*, Mdf., p. 16; *Kate-*, *Katesby*, H.R., *Cate-*, *Catesby*, F.A. = Cadeby (Li.); *Cnichtebrugge* (Hen. III.), Index = Knightsbridge (London) < O.E. *cniht*; *Harningsey* (Edw. VI.), Mi.F.F., *Harengsey* (1316), F.A. = Hornsey (Mi.); *Smethe-*, *Smethes-*, *Smes-*

*don*, H.R. = Smithdon (Nf.) < O.E. *smēþe*; *Rincsteda*, *Rincteda*, D.B. = Ringstead (Nf.) < O.E. *stede*; *Withesfeld* (1150), Index = Whitfield (Np.) < O.E. *hwit*; *Winemereslea*, *Wimeres-*, *Wimerleu*, D.B. = Wimersley Hundred (Np.) < O.E. *Winemær*, Searle; *Clailei*, *Claislea*, D.B. = Cleley Hundred (Np.), *Klegele*, Geld. Inq. < O.E. *clæg*; *Torlaston*, *Torlaxton*, F.A., *Torlaton* (1539), Nt. Recs. = Tollerton (Nt.); *Timbrecumbe*, D.B., *Tymbercome* (1384), Index = Timberscombe (Sm.); *Frodeley* (1305), Index, *Fodresleye* (1262) = Fradley (St.). Cf. O.E. *Frod*, *Froda*, Searle. According to Hope, Alnmouth (Nb.), at the mouth of the Aln, is dialectally pronounced »Aylesmouth». WESTPHAL, p. 19, p. 33, has noted several instances from O.Fr. texts: *Banesburc* < *Bæbbanburh*, *Everswic* < *Eoferwic*, *Lichesfeld* < *Licetfeld* etc.

The appearance or non-appearance of *s* in the examples above has probably no connection whatever with the instances of loss or addition of an unetymological *s* caused by A.N. influence which are discussed in § 5. In the present case we have, no doubt, to do with a kind of analogical transformation. The mere circumstance that of a great many O.E. personal names frequently used as the first element of place-names there existed two forms of the genitive, one with *s*, another without (*Frodes* — *Frodan*, *Haddes* — *Haddan*, *Lulles* — *Lullan* etc.) may easily have led to confusion and uncertainty as to the use of *s* between two place-name compounds in general. Thus *Wimerleu* for \**Wimers-leu* (< O.E. \**Winemæresleah*), *Smethesdon* for *Smethedon* (< O.E. \**Smepedun*) on the analogy of *Frodeley*, *Frodesleye* (< O.E. \**Frodan-*, \**Frodesleage*).

When establishing the etymology of place-names on the evidence of early M. E. spellings it is of great importance fully to realize that *s* is »loose» in position between two compounds. Consequently, if *s* occurs in e. M.E. forms it does not always follow that a personal name is contained in the first compound, nor does the absence of *s* absolutely tell against such a supposition. It seems to us as if Prof. SKEAT in establishing the etymology of place-names were apt to attach too much importance to the appearance or non-appearance of *s* in the early spellings. Cf. Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 12 under Rampton, and p. 37 under Snailwell.

## § 7. Change or interchange of the liquids (*l*, *n*, *r*).

The collections of material which precede the various sections of this paragraph have been arranged in the following way. The altered forms of the various place-names are given first, then the modern ones, and lastly some references for the etymological forms. We have denoted doubtful instances by placing them inside square brackets.

### A. Interchange of *l*, *n*, *r*.

#### 1. Dissimilation of *r* — *r*.

##### a. *r* — *r* > *l* — *r*.

*Salopescira* (1155), Pi.R.; *Salopescira*, Fr.Ch.; *Salop'*, H.R., T.N.; *Salopia* (1231—34), C.R.; *Salopsire* (1232—47), P.R.; *Slobschire* (13th c.), Jesus Coll. MS. (Oxford); *Salop* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M. = Shropshire or *Salop* < O.E. *Scrobbesbyrigseir*, A.S. Chr.; *Sciropescire*, D.B.; *Schorpschire*, *Scropssire*, R.Gl.

*Salopesbiriam* (1139), Index; *Salopesberia* (1155), Pi.R.; *Salopesberia*, Fr.Ch.; *Salopisbur'*, H.R.; *Salop'*, T.N.; *Salop'* (1225), Ch.R.; *Salopesbyry* (1232—47), *Silop* (1272—81), *Salop* (1391—96), P.R. = Shrewsbury (Sh.) < O.E. *Scrobbesburh*, A.S. Chr.; *Sciropesberie*, D.B.; *Scroberiensis*, Fr.Ch.; *Ssrofsburi*, R.Gl.; *Shrovesbury*, *Shrousbury* (1318—23, 43—46), C.R.; *Shrouesbury* (1391—96), P.R.; *Schrobesbiri*, R.Br., p. 111; *Shrewsbury* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M.

*Saleurdine*, D.B. = Shrawardine (Sh.), *Schrewardin*, H.R.; *Srewardin*, T.N.; *Schrewardyn*, F.A.

*Salesberi*, *Seleberi*, A.S. Chr. MS. F; *Salesberia*, Fr.Ch.; *Salesburi* A, *Salusburi* B, *Lazamon*, v. 15290; *Salesbir'*, T.N.; *Salesbury*, R.Gl.; *Salesbury* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M. = Salisbury or New Sarum (Wl.) < O.E. *Searoburg*, B, C, *Sereberi* E, A.S. Chr.; *Saresburia* (1155, 89), Pi.R.; *Saresberie*, Fr.Ch., Ch.R.; *Saresbur'*, *Sarru'*, H.R.; *Saresbury* (1232—47), P.R.; *Saresbury*, Jesus MS.; *Nova Sarum* (1391—96), P.R.; *Sarum*, V.E.

*Walegrava*, Fr.Ch. = Wargrave (Be.) < O.E. *wer*, Mdf., p. 146; *Weregrauæ* (1061—65), Index; *Wergrave*, F.A.

*Bilichangram*, D.B.; *Bilchangr* (1200), Index = Birchanger (Es.) < O.E. *byric*, Mdf., p. 23.

[*Belford*, F.A. = Barford (Nf.); *Berford*, F.A.; *Berford*, T.N.]

##### b. *r* — *r* > *r* — *l*.

[*Brithlinges*, T.N.; *Britlingeseye*, H.R.; *Bridlinges* (1231—34); C.R.; *Brytlingseye* (1303), F.A.; *Brickelsye*, *Brykkylsay*, *Brikelsaye* (1476—85) P.R. = Brightlingsea (Es.), pron. (brikəlsɪ) < O.E. *Beorhtric*, Searle; *Brictricesia*, D.B.]

c.  $r - r > n - r$ .

[*Henert*, D.B. = *Herriard* (Ha.); *Herierd* (1190), *Selborne Ch.*; *Herehyrde*, *Herierd* (1316, 1428), F.A.]

[*Kenebroc*, Fr.Ch. = *Carbrooke* (Nf.); *Kerbrok* (13 and 14 c.), F.A.; *Kerbroc*, *-brock*, H.R.]

2. *Assimilation to r - r.*a.  $l - r > r - r$ .

[*Bergemere*, *Borgemere*, *Burgemere*, D.B.; *Burgamera*, Anc.Ch. = *Bolmer* or *Balmer* (Ss.), cf. O.E. *bulemere*, *Birch* 687; *Bulmer*, D.B.]

b.  $n - r > r - r$ .

[*Estarforda*, D.B. = *Stanford* (Nf.) < O.E. *stān*; *Estanforda*, D.B.; *Stanford*, F.A.]

3. *Dissimilation of l - l.*a.  $l - l > r - l$ .

*Erwadeston*, Fr.Ch. = *Elvaston* (Db.) < O.E. *Æthelweald*, *Searle*; *Elwaldestone*, Fr.Ch.; *Aluualdestona* (Hen. II.), Index.

*Ciresfel*, D.B. = *Chelsfield* (Ke.) < O.E. *Ceol*, *Searle*; *Cheleffeld*, T.N.; *Chellesfelde* (1316, 46), F.A.

*Herelou* (1254), Index = *Belleau* (Li.); *Elgelo*, D.B.; *Helghelowe*, T.N.; *Hellowe* (1355), Index. The first element may have contained O.E. *Helga*, *Searle*. As for the modern form, see Introduction, p. 13.

*Brumhelle*, D.B. = *Blymhill* (St.); *Blumenhulle* (c. 1250), Index; *Blumonhull* (14 c.), see DUIGNAN, *St. Pl.Ns.*, p. 19.

b.  $l - l > l - r$ .

[*Guldesmere*, D.B.; *Ingolvesmera*, Anc.Ch. = *Ingoldsmells* (Li.); *Ingolde-mes*, Ch.R. II; *Ingoldemoles*, *Ingoldesmolis*, T.N.; *Ingoldmels*, *-mesles*, F.A. The first part of the name seems to contain O.E. *Ingulf* or *Ingweald*, *Searle*<sup>1</sup>. The second element is, no doubt, due to Scand *melr*, dial. Engl. *meol* = 'a sand-bank' or 'sand-hill', frequent in proper names. See E.D.D.]

c.  $l - l > n - l$ .

*Soanesfelt*, D.B. = *Swallowfield* (Be.) < O.E. *swealwe*, Mdf., p. 131; *Solafel*, D.B.

<sup>1</sup> *In* having been taken for the Latin preposition *in* accounts for its non-appearance in D.B. Cf. *Gemunstorp*, D.B. = *Ingmanthorp* (Yo.).

[Nyland or Iland (Do.), *Iland*, *Inlande*, D.B.; *Liland*, T.N.; *La Esiond* (1284), *Layelond* (1303), *Le Ylond*, *La Ilond* (1431), *Laylond* (1428), F.A. The etymology is O.E. *ægland*, Sweet, A.S. Dic.]

*Nicol* (1196), Le. Recs.; *Nicholia*, Ramsey Ch. = Lincoln (Li.) < O.E.; *Lincolne*, *Lincolle*, A.S. Chr.

#### 4. Assimilation to *l* — *l*.

##### a. *r* — *l* > *l* — *l*.

*Belissolt*, *Belicolt*, D.B. = *Bircholt* (Ke.) < O.E. *bierce*, *byric*; *Beriscolt*, D.B.; *Biricholt* (1204), Ke. P.F.; *Byrreholt* (1346), F.A.

*Clavelle* D.B. = *Crowell* (Ox.) < O.E. *crāwe*, Mdf., p. 30; *Crawell*, H.R.; *Crowell* (1316, 46, 1428), F.A.

##### b. *l* — *r* > *l* — *l*.

*Fallemella*, Anc.Ch. = *Falmere* (Ss.) < O.E. *mere*, Mdf., p. 92; *Felesmere*, *Falemere*, D.B.; *Fallemere* (1377–81), P.R.

*Levechanole*, D.B. = *Lewknor* (Ox.) < O.E. *ōra*, Mdf., p. 99; *Levkenor*, H.R., *Leukenore* (1316), F.A.

*Ellesmeles*, D.B. = *Ellesmere* (Sh.) < O.E. *mere*; *Ellesmere*, H.R.; *Ellesm'e*, T.N.; *Ellesmere* (1402), F.A.

##### c. *n* — *l* > *l* — *l*.

*Glole*, D.B. = *Church Knowle* (Do.) < O.E. *cnoll*, Mdf., p. 28; *Cnolle*, D.B.

*Hanenchelole*, Exon D.B.; *Hanechelole*, Excheq. D.B. = *Honicknowle* (Dv.) < O.E. *cnoll*.

*Bencolte* (1350), Index = *Bincknoll* (Wl.) < O.E. *cnoll*; *Bienknolle* (1362), Index.

*Latelie*, D.B.; *Lettelegh*, *Latelie*, Ch.R. I; *Letele* (1316), F.A.; *Lettele*, *Lettley* (1461–67, 67–77), P.R. = *Nately*, *Netley*, and *Netley Abbey* (Ha.) < O.E. *Natanleaga* A.S. Chr.; *Neddan*, *Næddanteage*, Kemble 624; *Nataleie*, D.B.; *Natale*, F.A.; *Nateley*, *Neteleye*, H.R.; *Natelegh* (1279–88), C.R.

#### 5. Dissimilation of *n* — *n*.

##### A. *n* — *n* > *l* — *n*.

*Lantalan* (1412), Index = *Nantallan* (Co.) < Celtic *\*nanton*, Cornish *nans* = 'valley' (cf. WILLIAMS, *Die Franz. Ortsn. Kelt. Abkunft*, p. 67; cf. also Mdf., p. 97); *Nanstalen* (1392), Index; *Nanstallan* (1594), Index.

*Lclantt* (1006), Index = *Lelant* (Co.) < Celtic *\*nanton*; *La Nante* (1296), Index; *Lanantha* (1331), ib.; *Lananta* (1349), ib.

*Lantien*, D.B.; *Lantyen*, T.N.; *Lantien*, F.A. = *Lantyan* (Co.) < Celtic *\*nanton*; *Nauntiane*, *Nantyan*, F.A.

*Tiltetona*, Fr.Ch. = Tenterden (Ke.); *Tenterdenn* (1316, 46), F.A.; *Tenderdene*, H.R.

*Clotone*, D.B. = Knutton (St.); *Cnotton*, *Cnoton* (12 c.), see DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 89.

b.  $n - n > r - n$ .

[*Carenduna*, D.B. = Canewdon (Es.); *Caneuedon*, H.R.; *Kenewedon* (1227), Ch.R.; *Canwedon*, *Caneudon*, F.A.]

[*Morchelona*, D.B. = Monkton (Sm.) < O.E. *munuc*, Mdf., p. 96; *Monechetona*, D.B.; *Moneketon*, *Monketon*, *Moncketon*, F.A.]

6. *Interchange of l, n, r in other cases.*

a.  $r - n > l - n$ .

*Melestun*, D.B. = Murston (Ke.); *Merston*, T.N.; *M'ston*, H.R.

b.  $n - r > l - r$ .

*Elesford*, D.B. = Eynsford (Ke.) < O.E. *Ænes ford*, Index; *Aynesford*, Ch.R. II.

*Boleberie*, D.B. = Bunbury (Ch.); *Bonebir*, Ch.R. II.

c.  $n - l > r - l$ .

[*Tarefeld*, Ch.R. I = Tanfield (Yo.); *Tanefeld*, D.B.; *Tanfeld* (1284), Yo. K.Q.]

*l*, *n* and *r* in two syllables of the same word exercise in many Indo-Germanic languages a mutual dissimilatory or assimilatory influence; *l* is often also exchanged for *r*, and vice-versa, a phenomenon already known in the »Ursprache», as is shown by the coexistence of the suffixes *-tro-*, *-tlo-*, *-dhro-*, *-dhlo-*. Cf. BRUGMANN, *Kurze vergl. Gramm. der indog. Sprachen*, p. 117. This interchange of the liquids is by no means a characteristic of the O.E. dialect. On the contrary, O.E. sometimes preserves the original sequence of consonants in words which in other Germanic dialects have undergone dissimilation. Cf. O.E. *frōfor* against O.H.G. *fluobra*.

KLUGE, *Paul's Gr.*, p. 1015, draws attention to some late O.E. cases of dissimilation and assimilation between *r* and *l*. The instances he adduces are in our opinion not wholly conclusive. *Slæpor* for *slāpol* and *slāporness* by the side of *slāpolness* may

represent the same interchange of suffixes which appears in *wæccer*, *wæcer* together with *wacol*. The same is perhaps the case with *cliper* and *clypol* answering to Dutch *klepel*, M.H.G. *klepfel*, *klepfer*. *Gyrder* < *gyrdel* seems to be a ghost-word, as it is ignored both by Sweet and Bosworth-Toller. Stratmann's M.E. Dic. and Mätzner's Wörterbuch have only forms with *l*.

There is hardly even in modern literary English any word of native origin which may be pointed to as a safe instance of the interchange here in question. »Smoulder» is dubious; cf. Skeat's Concise Etym. Dic. »Riddle» < O.E. *hrīdder* is explained by Skeat ib., as due to the change of suffixes. In some Mod. E. dialects the original *r* is still preserved: *ridder* (Sm.), see E.D.D.

Where interchange or change appears in French loan-words, this is very often a mere reflection of the uncertainty as to the use of the liquids which prevailed in O.Fr. itself <sup>1</sup>. The frequent appearance of *l* for *r*, *n*, and conversely, may, indeed, be considered as a characteristic feature of the Romance languages. In Latin the dissimilation of two consecutive *r*'s was regular (cf. J. PASSY, Sur les changements phonétiques, p. 201), and in the French, Italian, and Spanish languages we find at different periods the same tendency: *l*, *n*, *r* in two syllables of the same word are often interchanged.

For our purposes it is of particular importance to know (1) if at the time of the Conquest the interchange of the liquids was a usual phenomenon in the Norman dialect (2), and, if so, under what circumstances this interchange took place, i.e. by what phonetic laws it was regulated.

<sup>1</sup> Of Mod. English »purple», which in e. M.E. appears as *purper*, doublets existed in O.Fr. itself (see Godefroy). In this case, however, another explanation would seem possible. The late occurrence of the form in *el* is perhaps best accounted for by assuming it to have arisen in the compound *purpelpelle*, by a process which might be called regressive syllabic assimilation. According to HEVELMANN, Zum Konsonantismus etc., p. 28, the word in question appears in l.M.E. always as *purper*, while in the above-mentioned compound *purpel* is the regular form. Cf. also O.Fr. *attel* < *principel alter* > *principel attel*, NYROP, Gramm. § 509. The change of *r* to *l* in Mod. Engl. »laurel» and »marble» < O.Fr. *marbre*, *lorer* etc. may have taken place in the very act of borrowing, possibly owing to mishearing. The circumstance that both these suffixes existed in native words has, no doubt, contributed to facilitate the substitution.

In D.B. *l*, *n*, *r* are interchanged in the following French words: *Morel* — *Morinus*, *Columbels* — *Columbers*, *Helion* — *Herion*. See HILDEBRAND, pp. 339, 361. Other examples quoted by MENDER, p. 87, and STIMMING, p. 212 — with numerous references — show that there must have been a great confusion between *l*, *n*, *r* in A.N.

Under such circumstances we seem justified in ascribing to A.N. influence the many instances of a similar confusion in the forms of English place-names recorded in Anglo-Latin MSS. from the time after the Conquest.

The second question still remains. Under what circumstances did the interchange take place? In a treatise called »*La dissimilation consonantique dans les Langues Indo-Européennes*» a French scholar, M. GRAMMONT, has formulated no less than twenty laws of dissimilation, illustrated by numerous examples, especially from the Romance languages. The correctness of these laws is, however, very problematic. Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Ltbl.* 1896, p. 409, and MERINGER, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 12, *Anzeiger*, p. 12. The true nature of dissimilation and similar changes is better defined by MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.* I § 570, as »une série de changements qui ne se produisent pas selon des règles fixes, mais qui sont, dans une certaine mesure soumis à l'arbitraire et au hasard.» The great variety of forms seen in the above lists strongly supports Meyer-Lübke's opinion. — Meringer particularly points out what an important part faulty speech or hearing play, especially where *l* and *r* are concerned. Cf. also MERINGER und MAYER *Versprechen und Verlesen* (Stuttgart 1895), pp. 89, 95 ff. It is consequently very often just in loan-words that *l*, *n*, *r* are interchanged, and this circumstance certainly deserves to be taken into consideration in the present case. The English place-names were unfamiliar words to the Normans; they did not know anything of their etymology or sense, but wrote and pronounced them as they heard them.

The anomalous forms are also not so numerous in any other record as in the earliest of them all, *Domesday-Book*. In the 12th cent. they are still very well represented, particularly in the French charters — by no means an unimportant circumstance — but after the middle of the 13th c. they may be said to have

disappeared, if, of course, we except the few cases where they ultimately prevailed.

Though we have expressed it as our opinion that no fixed rules can be laid down according to which the changes we have to deal with in this section may be said to have taken place, our material has been classified under various headings so as to present a more perspicuous view of the whole. At the utmost, a few general tendencies may be noted. Dissimilation seems to be more usual than assimilation, and the change of  $r - r > l - r$  is of particularly frequent occurrence<sup>1</sup>. For interesting O.Fr. instances — parallel to the ones noted by us — both in place-names and ordinary words, see NYROP, *Gramm.* §§ 327, 328, 340, 359, 511, 512; EURÉN, *Étude sur l'R français* (Diss. Upsala 1896), pp. 18, 37 ff.; WILLIAMS, *Franz. Ortsnamen*, pp. 22, 23; LINDSTRÖM, *De obet. vokal. bortfall i några nordfranska ortnamn* (Diss. Upsala 1892), p. 13, Anm. 2; NEUMANN, *Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des altfranz.*, p. 69<sup>2</sup>.

Before going further, it will be convenient to try and establish whether some of our instances may be accounted for as due to mere confusion of letters. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 6 f. A glance at the facsimiles of D.B. and some early 12th cent. records, like the Li.S., will suffice to show that *l* is quite distinct in form from *n* and *r*, so that all interchanges between *l*, on the one hand, and *n*, *r*, on the other, seem to require a phonetic explanation. Moreover, no graphic confusion between *l* and *n*, *r* has

<sup>1</sup> STOLZE, pp. 37, 38, has also noted a few cases of interchange between *l* and *r* in D.B., which he rightly ascribes to A.N. influence. One of his examples is not to the point. He thinks that *Warborgetone* and *Walburgeton* in Ss. stand for the same place, but *Walburgeton* is identical with Walberton in the Rape of Benested, later on called Avisford, while *Warborgetone* stands for Warbleton in the Rape of Hawksford. *Warborgeton* D.B. corresponds to later *Warbilthun* (13 c.), Index, *Warbleton* (14 c.), P.R., C.R., but in the early Fr.Ch. we find the form *Warborgultona*, containing both *l* and *r*; so it is not safe to assume the change of  $l > r$  in the D.B. form.

<sup>2</sup> We may add a few more: *Linglonia* (1162), *Lingronia* (1190), *Ningronia* (1278) = Langrune (Calv.), see Dic. Top.; *Berebrona* (1116), *Belebrone* (1206), *Bereborna* (13 c.) = Bellebrune, see A. DE LOISNE, *Les noms de lieu du P. de Calais*, p. 7. *n* has been changed to *r* in Marville < *Manulfi villa*, see QUICHERAT, p. 62. In the R.B. the same person is spoken of as *Hug. de Anvers* and *Alverso* ( $n - r > l - r$ ), but this instance also admits of another interpretation: *Alvers(o)* = *Auvers* = *Anvers* (*u* in *Auvers* being an error for *n*).

been noted by the authors referred to in the Introd. It is different where *n* and *r* are concerned. Particularly in a medial position these letters are very much alike in some MSS. of that time. For instances of confusion between the two see SCHRÖER, *Anglia*, Beiblatt XVIII, p. 97 f., *Engl. Stud.*, 14, p. 249, Ltbl. 1902, p. 288; BERBERICH, *Herb. Apul.*, p. 8; LUHMANN, *Lazamon*, p. 50. This being so, the appearance of *n* for *r*, and vice-versa, might sometimes be explained as a scribal error<sup>1</sup>. We must, however, not forget that the change of *n* to *r* by dissimilation is well evidenced in O.Fr. For instances see EURÉN, p. 24; LINDSTRÖM, p. 13, Anm. 2; WILLIAMS, p. 23; *Jahresbericht der rom. Phil.* 1891-94 I, p. 157.

We will now pass on to discuss a few instances that belong here, which for various reasons have not found a place in the lists. Combined dissimilation and assimilation appears in *Erwardeston* (1246), Ch.R. = *Elvaston* (Db.), *Ælvvoldestune*, D.B. < O.E. *Æthelweald*, Searle (*l — l > r — l > r — r*)<sup>2</sup>. Cf. dialectal French *vérocipèle* (see NYROP, *Gramm.*, p. 406) < *vélecipèle* < *vélecipède* (*l — d > l — l > r — l*).

Apparent loss of *n* after *o* in *Mold* (Flintshire) and *Mowbray*, pron. (moubre), *Tanger* (a personal name, see BARDSLEY's *Dic.*, p. 544) is, in all probability, only an instance of *n* having been turned into *l*.

Of *Mowbray* we have noted the following early spellings: *G. de Molbray*, *Mubray*, *Mumbray*, *Munbray*, Ch.R. I; *N. de Mumbray*, *Moubray*, H.R.; *John de Mun-*, *Mount-*, *Mou-*, *Mumbray*, F.A., vol. IV. We take *Munbray* (= Mod. E. *Mumbray*, see Bardsley, l.c.) to be the original form, from which arose

<sup>1</sup> For that reason we have put between brackets all instances of *n* for *r* and *r* for *n* in the lists heading this section.

<sup>2</sup> The same place offers an instance of what BEHRENS (cf. his *Über reciproke Metathese im Roman.*, Greifswald 1888) calls reciprocal metathesis, viz. *Aswalton* (14 c.), F.A., for *Alwaston*. According to Behrens, this phenomenon is of very frequent occurrence in Italian dialects and, besides, a usual mistake in ordinary speech (French *féciliter* < *féliciter* etc.). Cf. also MERINGER und MAYER, *Versprechen* etc., p. 20 f. English instances are *caliban* < *cannibal* and possibly O.E. *colone* < \**iluna* < *inula*, see POGATSCHER, *Lehnworte*, p. 61.

*Molbray* ( $n - r > l - r$ ), whence, by the vocalization of  $l$  to  $u$ , *Mowbray*, *Mubray*<sup>1</sup>.

The Index gives the following old spellings of Mold (Flintshire): *Mons altus* (1338), *Mohaut* (1337), *Mohaute* (1400). The development seems to have been *Montalt* > \**Moltalt* ( $n - l > l - l$ ) > *Mohaut*. The reappearance of  $l$  before  $t$  and the transition of  $lt > ld$  does not offer any difficulties.

In a few cases we are at a loss to decide whether a form is due to sound-change or to the substitution of one word for another. *Aylwoldeste*, Np.S. = *Egelweardeste*, Geld. Inq., *Alwardeslea*, D.B., and *Chenwardestone*, D.B. = Kinvaston (St.) < O.E. *Cymvaldestum* (a. 944) (see DUGNAN, St. Pl.Ns., p. 87) look like instances of  $l - r > l - l$ ,  $n - l > n - r$ , - but, on the other hand, we have noted the same interchange where no other liquid is found in the same word: *Aswoldeby*, *Aswordeby*, T.N.; *Asewardby*, *Asewaldby*, H.R. = *Aswardby* (Li.). So some confusion between the very usual components *-weald*, *-weard* may have been the cause of all the above changes.

Lastly a few instances are well worthy of note in which, apart from the proximity of other liquids,  $l$ ,  $n$ ,  $r$  are confused in the A.N. spellings of English place-names:  $n$  for  $l$  appears in *Devenis*, D.B. = *Dewlish* (Do.) < O.E. *develisc*, Birch 525, *Devellyssh*, F.A.;  $r$  for  $l$  in *Sperehou*, *Spelehou*, D.B. = *Spelhoe* Hundred (Np.), *Speltoh* (1076), Geld. Inq., *Speleho*, Np.S., *Spelho* (1316), F.A.;  $l$  for  $r$  in *Kiemela*, *Chimela*, Anc.Ch. = *Keymer* (Ss.) < O.E. *mere*, *Kymere* (1316), Index, and *Motbilie*, *-berie*, D.B. = *Modbury* (Dv.), *Modbyr*, H.R., *Modbury*, F.A. The last instance strongly recalls a similar interchange in some French words of the same type: *concile*, *concire* etc. Cf. EURÉN, p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> The ultimate source of the surname is, no doubt, a place in Calva dos called Mombray of which old spellings, like *Molbrai* (1198), *Monbreium* (1231), *Monbray* (1461), are noted in the Dic. Topogr. du Calv.

<sup>2</sup> From an etymological point of view Mold is identical with a Mod. E. surname Mowatt, pron. (mauet), Tanger, which in the early records appears as *Muhaut*, *Muhalt*, *Mohaut*, *Mouhaut*, Rievaux Ch.; *Monte Alto*, *Mou*, *Mow*, *Muhaut*, Ch.R., F.A.  $n$  is still preserved in St. Mary Mounthaw, the name of a London parish, the first element of which obviously contains the word 'mountain', and of which entries occur with  $n$  and without: *St. Marie Mountenhaute* (1428), F.A., *S. Mary Mowthaw*, Speculum Britanniae, *S. M. Mountenhaut* (1463), Index.

In fact, if we consider the very nature of the sounds in question, we find another reason why they were so often misunderstood and misrendered by the Normans. On the one hand, there may have existed a considerable difference between the English liquids and the corresponding French ones, both from the point of view of articulation and in other respects, whilst, on the other, we have strong evidence for believing that the acoustic effect of *l*, *n*, *r* in O.Fr. itself was very much the same. Rhymes of vowel + *l*: vowel + *n*: vowel + *r* are extremely usual both in A.N. and Continental French. For instances, see Menger, p. 87, WAHLBERG, *Le Bestiaire*, p. LV<sup>1</sup>. Even in literary French there was a hesitation between *l* and *r* as late as the 16th cent, and a great uncertainty as to the use of *l*, *n*, *r* is still a characteristic feature of Parisian vulgar speech. Cf. NYROP, *Gramm.* §§ 339, 340, 342. Investigations into the modern French dialects show that the same uncertainty prevails also there. On this point see EURÉN, p. 16, who gives numerous references.

We will now proceed to a discussion of those instances in our lists which offer some particular points of interest. A considerable number of the anomalous forms seem to have been of a very ephemeral nature, as it would seem, solely due to mishearing. In that case they, no doubt, disappeared, very soon after they had been brought into existence.

Association with words usual in the place-nomenclature of Normandy may sometimes have facilitated the change, or even influenced it in a certain direction. Thus *Belford* (see list 1 a) (= Barford, Nf.) recalls O.Fr. *bel*, *Ingolvesmera* (3 b) (= Ingoldsmells, Li.), O.Fr. *mer*. *Burgamera*, *Bergemere* etc. (2 a) (= Bolmer, Ss.) has, no doubt, been influenced by O.Fr. *bourc*, *bourg* (cf. KOENMESSER, p. 43) and *berg*, cf. JORET, p. 86.

A tendency to avoid difficult consonantal combinations may be traced in the numerous forms *glolle*, *lolle* (4 c) for *cnolle*, as well as in *Clotone* (5 a) for *Knotone* (= Knutton St.).

One French form, formerly widely used, has now fallen

<sup>1</sup> We have noted some rhymes of this kind in the Chron. of Mousket: *Sulie: pænie*, v. 31730; *Sulie: chevalrie*, v. 36429; more are given by TH. LINK, *Über die Sprache der Chron. von Mousket* (Diss. Erlangen 1882), p. 5.

into complete oblivion, viz. *Nicol* (3 c) for *Lincoln*<sup>1</sup>. The former is peculiar to purely French works, whereas English and generally also Latin works make use of the latter. Thus Robert of Brunne has *Lincolne*, p. 6, *Lyncolnschire*, p. 119, against *Nicole*, *Nichole*, I, pp. 148, 232, and *Nicoleschire*, I, p. 484 in Langtoft. Numerous instances from O.Fr. chronicles quoted by WESTPHAL, p. 34, only exhibit *n*. According to Camden, I, p. 563, the form *Nichol* occurred many times »in ancient Charters, and even as low as in Edward the fourth's time. William Caxton, in his Chronicle, calls it *Nichol*»<sup>2</sup>.

The French forms have gained the victory only in a few rare instances: Salisbury (1 a), Salop (1 a), Lantyan (5 a), Lelant (5 a), and possibly Brightlingsea (1 b).

The first time we have hit upon the dissimilated form of Salisbury, is in the MS. F of the A.S. Chron., so remarkable for its many Norman peculiarities. The two forms existed side by side for a long time. As late as 1403 a certain *J. Sarisbury* is mentioned in the Index, and *r* still lingers on in the shortened Latin form *Sarum*. Jones (1701) prefers to spell the name of the town »*Sarisbury*», which, however, »is sounded *Salsbury*». Cf. EKWALL, Jones's Phonography, p. 72. All O.Fr. works we have consulted favour the dissimilated form: *Salesbire*, Gaimar, v. 4390; *Salesbyry*, Langtoft I, p. 66; *Salesbires*, Guillaume le Mar., v. 1558 etc.

In Salop *s* for (*j*) and the svarabhakti between *s* and *l* are also due to A.N. influence. Cf. § 3 p. 56 f. This form is used for the town of Shrewsbury till towards the beginning of the 16th cent., and is still a common appellation for the county.

A parallel to Lantyan < *Nantyan* is offered by several French place-names, where original Celtic *nant* has been turned into *lant*. See WILLIAMS, p. 22. Is the dissimilation here due to Celtic sound-development?

<sup>1</sup> The intermediate form *Nincole* appears in Fantosme, v. 1551. *Nincole* was soon transformed to *Nicole*, probably on the analogy of the usual personal name *Nichol*.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Ekwall has kindly pointed out to me the interesting circumstance that Kingsley, the well-known English novelist, was not ignorant of the existing doublets of Lincoln, as appears from a passage in his *Hereward the Wake*, chapter XXI, p. 280: »Lic- nic- cole? replied Ascelin, who, like the rest of the Frenchmen, never could manage to say Lincoln.»

As for Brightlingsea it is doubtful whether such forms as *Brytlingseye* and *Brickelsye* are really due to *Brictriceseia*. It would perhaps be safer to start from an unrecorded O.E. ground-form *\*Brihtlingaeg*, the former element of which may have denoted the whole family to which *Brihtric* belonged.

Though Nyland (3 c) looks like a dissimilated form of *Liland*, we prefer to keep the two apart. Obviously both of them go back to an O.E. ground-form *igland*, but, while the former has originated by prefixing the French article (cf. Introd., p. 12), we construe the latter as due to the M.E. formula *\*attenilande*<sup>1</sup>.

It remains to be seen whether some of the cases we have noted may be explained as due to dialectal sound-change. Though *l*, *n*, and *r* are sometimes confused in the English dialects, this confusion is mainly confined to two distinct classes of words: (1) Words which only occur in the dialects, and the etymology of which is often very uncertain; (2) words borrowed from foreign languages, in which interchange may already have existed — this is often the case with the French loan-words — or else change have set in at the very time of the borrowing, as well as afterwards, owing to ignorance of the word and want of practice in pronouncing it correctly. Here, again, we have to pay due regard to the physiological fact that *l*, *n* and *r* were articulated in a similar manner, so that the acoustic difference between them was very slight. The comparatively small number of words belonging here which are quoted by FRANZMEYER, p. 1—10, and KRUISINGA §§ 328, 330 may, nearly all of them, be referred to one of the above-mentioned groups<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE. Some of the instances adduced by Franzmeyer and Kruisinga are to be eliminated, as being not to the point.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following early forms of Ewhurst (Sr.): *La Slefherst* (here the French article seems to have been prefixed twice) (13 c.), Index; *Newhurst* (< *\*attenehurst*) (13 c.), Index. For more similar instances see DUGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 113 ff.; St. Pl.Ns., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> To group 1 may belong: *bourtrey*, *bultrey*, *bountree* (see E.D.D.); to group 2: *calavan* < caravan, *gualantee* < guarantee, *paltridge* < partridge, *oliprance* < orprance, *cravel* < clavel, *frail* < flail, *synable* < syllable; *chander* < chalder, all from French; *frannel* < flannel, from Welsh; *keerhauling* < keelhauling, from Dutch.

*Nittle* for *little* (see FRAZMEYER, p. 3) by no means exemplifies a dissimilation of  $l - l > n - l$ . The form in question, which is often used by grown-up people, when speaking to children, has, naturally, originated through an intentional desire to imitate the imperfect language of children Cf. Swedish ›stackars *niten*›, for ›stackars *liten*›, similarly used. Under the same circumstances *l* is often substituted for the difficult sound of *r* (cf. Swedish ›Helle dud så *lal*› for ›Herre gud så *rar*›), and this is no doubt the way in which the English pet-name forms *Hal*, *Sal*, *Mal* for Harry, Sara and Mary, as also *doll* < Dorothy, have arisen, i.e. from being originally used only by the children themselves, such hypocoristic forms have been adopted also by grown-up people.

*Emerald* < emerald (FRANZMEYER, p. 6), of which the former only occurs in the Scotch dialects (cf. the instances in N.E.D. and E.D.D.), is best explained as due to the change of suffixes, the usual Scotch ending *-and* having been substituted for original *-ald*.

KRUISINGA § 328 points to the dialectal forms *armenik* and *arfabet* for almanac, alphabet as instances of  $l > r$ . Here *r* has probably been inserted after the loss of *l*, and this is the more likely, as in the Somerset dialect we find an inorganic *r* also in *larf* < laugh, pronounced with the same vowel-sound as that of *arfabet*.

In like manner we would explain the form *armere* < almonry, Machyn 254<sup>4</sup> (a. 1561), cf. DIEHL, Anglia XXIX, p. 194. For more instances of a similar insertion of *r*, see HORN, Untersuchungen, p. 61.

At least in one case the change of  $l > n$  seems to depend on English development, viz. in the combinations *nm*, *mn*. This transition may be explained either as a dissimilation of *n* to *l*, caused by the neighbouring *m*, or as a tendency to replace a consonantal combination of rare occurrence in the language by a more familiar one<sup>1</sup>. M.E. instances are *elmyes*, *garlementes*, *remelant*, Paston Letters (cf. NEUMANN, p. 82), *remelaunt*, *rem-lawnt*, see BEHRENS, p. 199. In the dialects and in vulgar English *chimley*, *omlibus*, *umlibush* (cf. FRANZMEYER, p. 9; STORM, Engl. Phil., p. 823) may be pointed to as illustrating the transition. Here may also belong Standard English *martlemass* < martinmass.

In the place-names we have noted the following cases: *Kilmersdon* (Sm.) < O.E. *Cynmæc*, Searle, *Cenemeressduna*, D.B., *Kinemeressdon*, Ch.R. II, *Kynemeressdon* (14 c.), P.R.; Wilmots-

<sup>1</sup> In O.Fr. the unusual sound-combination *nm* in also done away with in various manners; cf. Lat. *anima* > *anne*, which latter is changed to *ame*, *aime*, and *arme*. See EUREN, p. 25; GRAMMONT, p. 56.

ham<sup>1</sup> (Sm.) < O.E. *Winnæc*, Searle, *Winemeresham*, D.B., *Wynemerham* (1284), *Wynemersham* (1302, 46), F.A.; *Kylmerston* (1346), F.A. = *Kimmerston* (Nb.) < O.E. *Cynmæc*, Searle, *Kimmerston*, *Kymerston*, F.A.

Present *n* for older *l* in *Muncaster* (Cu.), *Mulcastre* (1288—96), C.R., *Mulcastre* (1385), Cat. A.D., »*Moncaster* but its true name is *Mulcastre*», M.Br. I, p. 367, hardly arose owing to A.N. influence, our first reference for the *n*-form being as late as the 14th cent. = *Muncastre* (1318—23), C.R.<sup>2</sup> The alteration may be due to association with numerous places in Monk-, like Monkton etc. < O.E. *munuc*<sup>3</sup>.

According to Hope, Alderwasley (Db.) and Needham (Sf.) are dialectally pronounced »Annerslee», »Allerslee» and »Leedum» Whether this is correct we cannot decide, nor do we venture to suggest any explanation, as we have no instances of early spellings of the two places in question.

### B. Dissimilation of *n* to *l*, *r* by a following *m*.

The French forms have prevailed only in the case of Durham (Du.) for which we have found the following early references.

1. Forms with *n*: *Dunelm*, Boldon Book (late 12th cent.); *Dunolm*, *Donelme* (1191), Pedes Finium for Du.; *Dunholm* (1227—31—34) C.R., *Dunolm* (1343—46), ib.; *Dunelm* Civitas, V.E.

2. Forms with *r*: *Durelme*, Gaimar, v. 1296; *Durealme*, Fantosme, v. 534, *Dureaume*: *blasme*, ibid., v. 1603; *Dureme*, *Durham*, *Duram*, Langtoft I, p. 414; *Durham* (1231), Ch.R.; *Durham* (1279—88), C.R.; *Duram*, R.Gl.; *Durham*, R.Br., p. 74; *Durham*, *Durem*, *Duresme* (1313—18), C.R.; *Dorham*, Capgrave, p. 145; *Duriaume*, *Durialme*, Mousket, vv. 14031, 13311; *Dureaume*, *Dureiaume*, Benoit, vv. 38663, 38387; *Durham*, (Hen. VII.), I.P.M.;

<sup>1</sup> Wilmotsham is a mere fancy-spelling; cf. Headless Cross for Headley's Cross in Wo., DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns. p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> The old form *Mulcastre* still survives in the English surname *Mulcaster*. See BARDSLEY'S Dic., p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that this alteration was arbitrary, caused by the somewhat vulgar sense of the first element *mul* = »dust», »rubbish». See E.D.D. For similar reasons *Ugley* (Es.) has in quite recent times been altered to *Oakley*. (Bartholomew's Gazetteer gives both forms). Old forms, like *Oggele* (1303), F.A., *Uggele* (1428), ib., point to an O.E. ground-form \**Ugganleah*.

*Duresme* (17th c.), see DIEHL, *Anglia* XXIX, p. 188. — In a record called *Registrum palatinum Dunelmense*, 1311—16 (= *Chron. and Mem.*, 62) Durham in the French parts regularly appears as *Duresme*, in the Latin ones as *Dunelm*.

The original O.E. form is *Dunholm*, A.S. Chr., which in Bede appears as *Dunelma* < the adjective *Dunelmensis*, just as *Palermo* < *Panermitanus*, adj. derived from *Pañormus*; cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Einführung in das Stud. der rom. Sprachen*, p. 187. *Dunelm*, Boldon Book, is possibly a continuation of this Latin form, but may also very well be due to O.E. *Dunholm* with weakening of unstressed *o* to *e*. The form *Durelme*, Gaimar, has originated by dissimilation of *n* to *r*, caused by the following *m*.

This kind of dissimilation, which is not quite as usual as the others treated of before, has been noted by GRAMMONT in several cases, of which Dutch *Zaandam* (name of a town) > French *Saardam* (see p. 19, p. 25) is the most interesting case, as being quite analogous to *Dunelma* > *Durelme*.

Fantosome's *Dureaume* rhyming with *blasme* is a regular development of *Durelme*. *Duresme* may have originated from *Dureaume* by the dropping of *u* and insertion of an inorganic *s*<sup>1</sup>.

Though the modern form Durham is, no doubt, due to French *Dureaume*, *Dureme*<sup>2</sup>, the loss of *l* before *m* might easily be accounted for by English sound-development. Indeed, the same phenomenon appears in several cases where A.N. influence is out of the question. Cf. Cuckamslow (Be.) < O.E. *Cwicelmeshlæwe*, Index; Brickampton (Gl.) < O.E. *Beorhthelm*, Searle, *Brithelmeton*, *Brihtamtunn* (1200—1300), Gl. Recs.; Brighthampton (Ox.) < O.E. *Beorhthelm*, *Bristelmestone*, D.B., *Buthampton* (1350), Frideswide Ch.; *Wulfhem*, *Byrththem* < *Wulphelm*, *Beorhthelm*, LANGER, Abingdon Chart., p. 59; *Mykames* (= Michaelmas) (14 c.), Norfolk Gilds, SCHULTZ, p. 29. According to Jones, *l* is silent in *Dunelm Kenelm*, see EKWALL § 577. From the above instances we may

<sup>1</sup> The spelling *Duresme* for *Durem* may possibly be due to the analogy of the numerous French place-names in *-esme* < Celtic *-isma*. Cf. WILLIAMS, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. such usual O.Fr. forms as *Willeaume*, *Willame*, *Willeme* < *Wilihelmus*.

conclude that English *l* has a tendency to disappear before *m* in weakly stressed syllables.

In the 13th and 14th cent. the A.N. form of Durham had gained a complete victory, as it is the only one that appears in the English chronicles of that time (R.Gl., R.Br.). All forms with *n* are now to be considered as mere archaisms used by scribes who had some knowledge of the O.E. form. The archaic spelling *Dunholm* still occurs on the map in Camden's *Britannia*.

NOTE. In this place we will consider one more possibility of explaining the change of *n* to *r* in Durham. *Dur* < Celtic \**duros* has perhaps been substituted for] *dun*. In French place-names *dun* and *dur* are very usual, and the sense of both was »a strongly fortified place«. Cf. WILLIAMS, p. 54, p. 57. Interchange between the two is, however, very rare in the early spellings of place-names. The MS. A of *Lazamon* has *Waladunes dune*, v. 2823, against *Waledures doune* in B. The very same place is called *Paladur* in *Wace*, v. 1563, *palidour* in R.Gl., Appendix, p. 781. The French place *Roquedur* is recorded as *Rocdun* in 875, as *Rocadunum* in 1156; see MEYNIEB, 1897, p. 361. In all the other cases we have examined, *dun* and *dur* are kept strictly apart. As regards Durham, it is, therefore, much more probable that *n* > *r* is due to the dissimilatory influence of the following *m* than to a mechanical substitution of one etymon (*dur*) for another (*dun*).

We will add to the above some instances of dissimilation, similar to the one in Durham, which, however, have had no influence upon the modern form of the places in question.

1.  $n - m > r - m$ .

*Therham*, D.B. = Teynham (Ke.) < O.E. *Tenham*, *Kemble* 1019; *Tenham* (12 c.), Index.; *Tenham* (1316), F.A.

*Lerham*, D.B. = Lenham (Ke.) < O.E. *Leanaham* (a. 858), Earle; *Lene-*, *Lenham*, Ch.R. I, II, F.A.

2.  $n - m > r - m$ .

*Winessamstede*, D.B. = Willshampsted or Wilsted (Bd.); *Wyleshamstede*, Tax. Eccl.; *Wilshampsted*, F.A.

*Limet*, D.B. = Nimet or Intake (Dv.); *Nymet*, D.B.; *Nimet*, R.B., T.N., H.R., F.A.; *Nimeth* (1216—25), P.R.

*Eglesham*, D.B. = Eynsham (Ox.) < O.E. *Egonesham*, A.S. Chr.; *Eynesham*, T.N., Ch.R. I.

### C. Dissimilatory loss of *r*.

The most interesting instance belonging here is Cambridge (Cb.) < O.E. *Grantebrycg*, A.S. Chr., which development has already been explained by Prof. Skeat, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 30, as due to A.N. influence. »The use of *C* for *Gr* arose from a Norman mispronunciation; the dropping of *r*, in particular, is clearly due to a wish to avoid the use of *gr* and *br* in the same word.»

Prof. Skeat has recorded so many old forms that we need only supplement his list by adding a few early instances from the I.C.C. and the I.El.: *Granteburga*, *Grantebrigge*, *Granteburga*, I.C.C.; *Grantebrige*, *Grantebrugge*, *Grantebrice*, *Cantebrigia*, I.El.

The English forms existed for a long time by the side of the Anglo-Norman ones, and do not seem to have been definitely lost until the beginning of the 15th cent.

Dissimilatory loss of *r* is found as early as in D.B.: *Rachene-foda* = Rackenford (Dv.); *Hardes* = Hardres (Ke.), *Netherardres*, Ch.R. I, *Hardres*, T. N., (1316, 1346, 1431), F.A.; *Stagrighesholle* = Stramshall (St.), *Strangricheshall*, -hull (13 c.), see Duignan, St. Pl.-Ns., p. 145; as also in various other records: *Briethicesfel* (13 c.), Index = Brushfield (Db.), *Britreichfeld* (13 c.), Index; *Torteoda*, Fr.Ch. = Tortworth (Gl.); *Chelysforde* (1304), Index = Chelsworth' (Sf.) < O.E. *Ceorles wyrpe* (a. 962), Index; *Sapy Pychar* (1519), Index = Sapey Pritchard (Wo.).

It is, however, not absolutely certain that loss of *r* in all the above instances depends on A.N. influence. Though the phenomenon in question was a usual one in O.Fr. (cf. Nyrop, Gramm. § 513) it is well represented also in English itself. Cf. Horn, Archiv 115, p. 324, Gramm. § 237. That, at least with reference to *Grantebrycg*, the disappearance of *r* is due to A.N. influence is rendered very probable by the circumstance that the present form and pronunciation of the place exhibit other French peculiarities, viz. (ei) for (æ) (cf. § 9) and possibly also *c* for *g*.

NOTE. We do not think that Prof. LUTCK has succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of the appearance of *c* for *g*. Cf. *Anglia* XVI, p. 489 »der ersatz des *g* durch *k* kann daher kommen dass im Agn. anlautend die folge *ga-* (die streng von *gua-* zu scheiden ist) lautgesetzlich nicht möglich war und auch thatsächlich kaum vorkam, während *ca* zwar auch lautgesetzlich unmöglich, aber nach den englischen reflexen zu urteilen doch nicht selten war». To this we may object that *ca* was the regular representative of Lat. *ca* in words like *camp* etc. in the North of Normandy (cf. § 1 p. 23); *ga* was common to the various O.Fr. dialects in some Germanic loan-words of late introduction, *gaber* etc. To account for the change we have, no doubt, to look elsewhere. In the first place, it is worthy of note that *k* and *g* are interchangeable in O.Fr. itself. For instances, see NYROP, Gramm. §§ 399, 405, 409, 423, 434; MACKEL, pp. 139, 140, 145; BEHRENS, pp. 202, 203, 207. One more circumstance is to be taken into consideration. We know there is nowadays a marked difference between English *k*, *g* and the corresponding French sounds, and such a difference may have existed even at the time of the Conquest. Consequently, *k* for *g*, and vice-versa, may sometimes depend on mishearing. We have collected some material, calculated to illustrate the interchange between *k* and *g* which often appears in the early spellings of English place-names. The instances are classified according to the sound — consonant or vowel — that follows after *c*, *g*. All of them can hardly be interpreted as orthographic misrepresentations. (*C* and *G* are much alike in the MSS).

## Interchange of 1. *cr*, *gr*:

*Crauenhest*, D.B., *Cravenhurst* (1377), Index, *Graven-Gravehurst*, F.A., T.N. = *Gravenhurst* (Bd.); *Gramborne*, D.B., *Cramburne* (1346, 1428), F.A. = *Crambourne* (Ha.); *Graneworthe*, H.R., *Craneworth* (13 c.), *Craneworth* (14 c.), Index = *Cranworth* (Nf.); *Gresinga*, *Cressingham*, D.B., *Cressingham*, H.R., F.A. = *Cressingham* (Nf.); *Grenedona*, D.B., *Crandone*, Sm. K.Q. = *Crandon* (Sm.); *Granforde*, *Craneфорд*, R.B. = *Cransford* (Sf.); *Gretinge*, *Cretinge*, R.B., *Gratinges*, Fr.Ch. = *Creting* (Sf.); *Gretingeham*, D.B., I.El., *Cretingham* (1219), Sf. P.F., *Gretingham*, Ch.R. I, II, T.N., (1307, 33) Index, *Cretyngham* (1461–67), P.R. = *Cretingham* (Sf.); *Crigeston*, D.B., *Grigelstone* (1327), Yo. S.R. = *Crigglestone* (Yo.).

## 2. *cl*, *gl*:

*Glauton* (1284), F.A., *Clauton* (1303), ib. = *Clawton* (Dv.); *Cloecistra*, *Cleucestra*, A.S. Chr. MS. i, *Claucestre*, *Claucretre*, R.Gl., v. 1517 = *Gloucester* (Gl.), cf., however § 5, p. 78, foot-note 1; *Gliderhov* (1232), Index = *Clitherhoe* (La.)<sup>1</sup>; *Clenyndon* (1237), Index, *Clendon*, F.A. = *Glendon* (Np.); *Clachestorp*, D.B. = *Glassthorpe* (Np.); *Glanefeld*, T.N., *Clane*, *Clanfeld*, F.A. = *Clanfield*

<sup>1</sup> *Glitherhoe* still exists as a personal name; see BARDSLEY's Dic., p. 321.

(Ox.); *Glademutha*, Henry of Hun. (Mon. Brit.) = the mouth of the river Cleddau (Pembroke), *Cledemufa*, A.S. Chr.

### 3. *cn*, *gn*:

*Gnatishale* (1230—40), *Gnateshale* (Edw. I.), Index = Knettishall (Sf.); *Gnolla* (1200), Index = Knolle (Wa.); *Gnarebure* (1191), Yo. P.F., *Gnareburg* (1176—77), Index, *Gnaresburg* (1272—79), C.R. = Knaresborough (Yo.).

### 4. *ca*, *ga*:

*Gannok vel Cannok* (1201—16), P.R. = Cannok (St.); *Camelegeia* (1152—53), Index = Gamlingay (Cb.).

### 5. *ke*, *ge*:

*Chevelestune*, D.B., *Geuelston*, F.A. = Gelston (Li.).

### 6. *gi*, *ki*:

*Gildecrosse*, *Childecrosse*, Inq.El. = Guiltcross Hundred (Nf.); *Kildincham*, D.B., *Gilyngham*, F.A. = Gillingham (Nf.).

### 7. *co*, *go*:

*Godrintona*, D.B., *Coderington* (1284, 1428), F.A., *Godryngton* (1303, 46), F.A. = Goodrington (Dv.); *Goldhangra*, D.B., *Caldhangre* (13 c.), Index, *Goldhengre*, H.R., T.N. = Goldhanger (Es.); *Golchestre*, R.Gl., v. 38 = Colchester (Es.); *Godbritleye*, *Codbricleye* (1284), F.A. = Coberley (Gl.); *Godrinton*, D.B., spelled with *G* in the F.A. (1303, 16, 46), with *C* in the Index (1189), the H.R., the F.A. (1303), the Gl.Recs. (1465) = Codrington (Gl.); *Coxhill* (1467—77), P.R. = Goxhill (Li.); *Gossale* (1284), F.A. = Cossal (Nt.). etc.

Many more instances of this interchange have been recorded by BARDSLEY. See his Dictionary, p. 19, and under Chrimes, p. 180, Cladish, p. 183, Carbutt, p. 159.

## D. Interchange of *-ling*, *-ning*, *-ring*.

### 1. In the middle of the word.

#### a. *ring* > *ling*, *ning*.

*Telingham*, *Tedlingham* (*d* is excrescent), D.B.; *Tiningon*, Fr.Ch. = Tyningham (Bu.); *Tyringeham*, T.N., H.R.; *Tyringham*, F.A.

*Gothelyngton* (1316), F.A. = Goodrington (Dv.); *Godrintona*, D.B.; *Godryngton* (1303), F.A.; *Gotheryngton* (1414), Index.

*Cudelintona* (1189), Index = Codrington (Gl.); *Godrinton*, D.B.; *Goderynton* *Coderinton*, F.A.

*Walintune*, D.B. = Warrington (La.); *Weryn*, *Weryngton* (1200—1350), La. Pi.R.; *Werington* (1303, 41), F.A. *Wær* as the first element of a personal name is very usual in Searle's *Onomasticon*.

*Camelinge ham*, D.B. = Cammeringham (Li.); *Camerynham*, Li.S.; *Cameringham*, H.R.; *Camerynham* (1316), F.A.

*Coclyngton*, F.A. = Cockerington (Li.); *Cokerinc*, *-ring*, *-inton*, H.R.

*Simplingham*, Rievaulx Ch., *Semplingham*, H.R. = Sempringham (Li.); *Sempringham* (c. 1100), Sempringham Ch.; *r* after *p* looks like a late insertion, for many of the earliest forms occur without *r*, viz. *Sempigaham*, A.S. Chron., *Sempringham* (c. 1100), Sempr. Ch.

*Silingham*, D.B. = Sherringham (Nf.); *Shiryngham*, F.A.; *Shyringham* (1379), Index.

*Felinghefort*, Fr.Ch. = Fringford (Ox.); *Ferryngforde* (14 c., 15 c.), F.A.

*Tedelintone*, D.B. = Tytherton (Wl.); *Tuderington* (c. 1300), I.P.M.

#### b. *ling* > *ning*, *ring*.

*Gameningegeye*, R.B. = Gamlingay (Cb.) < O.E. *Gamel*, *Gamela*, Searle; *Gamelingei*, D.B.; *Gamelingegeye*, R.B.

*Greningewell*, Ch.R. I = Graylingwell (Ss.); *Greylingewell*, Ch.R. I.

*Boniton*, *Bolintun*, *Bollintune*, D.B.; *Boniton*, *Volintona*, Fr.Ch. = Bullingtons in Bexhill (Ss.).

#### c. *ning* > *ling*, *ring*.

*Herlingtone* (1087), Fr.Ch.; *Erlingetona*, I.C.C. = Arrington (Cb.) < O.E. *earn*, Sweet, Dic.; *Erningtune*, D.B.; *Erningetone*, *ærningetune*, I.El. <sup>1</sup>.

*Belinge hou*, D.B. = Bengo (Ht.) < O.E. *Benning*, Mdf., p. 12; *Beningeho*, R.B.; *Beningho*, Tax. Eccl.

*Rauelinc*, *Raverincham*, D.B. = Raveningham (Nf.) < *Ræfen*, *Rauan*, Searle; *Ravenicham*, D.B.; *Ravenyng*, *Ravyngham*, F.A.

*Siverinctun*, D.B.; *Sevelynghon* (1284), Yo. K.Q.; *Sivillington*, Ch.R. I = Sinnington (Yo.); *Sevenictun*, D.B.; *Siniton*, H.R.; *Synnyngton* (15 c.), P.R.

<sup>1</sup> Loss of *n* in the present form of the word may have been caused either by dissimilation or by the substitution of *-ing* for *-ling*. We have noted a similar interchange between *-ing* and *-ling* in Barming (Ke.), *Bermelinge*, D.B., *Barmling*, T.N., *Barmlinge* (1316, 46), F.A., *Barmyng* (1556), Index. Cf. also the 16th century form *Fremyngham*, Machyn 70<sup>e</sup> ann., see DIEHL, *Anglia* XXIX, p. 193 = Framlingham (Sf.), pron. »Frammingham», Hope.

2. *At the end of the word.*a. *ring > ling.*

*Wachelingam*, D.B. = *Waking* (Es.); *Wacheringa*, D.B.; *Wakeryng*, H.R., T.N.; *Waking*, -es (1251, 52), Ch.R.; *Wakking* (1279-88), C.R.

*Clauelinga*, D.B. = *Clavering* (Es.) < O.E. *Clæfring*, Kemble; *Clavering*, -e, H.R., T.N., R.B., F.A.

*Hokelinka*, D.B. = *Hockering* (Nf.); *Hokering*, (14<sup>th</sup> c., 15 c.), F.A.

b. *ling > ning, ring.*

*Haringeia*, Fr.Ch. = *Hayling* (Ha.); *Heglingaig*, *Heilincige*, Codex. Vint. (MS. 12 c.), see Anglia, XXV, p. 435; *Haylyng* (1316), F.A.

*Diceninges*, D.B.; *Dychening'*, H.R.; *Dichenyng* (1411), Ss. S.R. = *Ditchling* (Ss.) < O.E. *Diccelingas*, Kemble 314, *Dicelinges*, D.B.

*Graveninge*, R.B. = *Groveley* (Wl.); *Gravelinges*, D.B., R.B.; *Graveling*, -ling', T.N., H.R., Ch.R. II.

c. *ning > ling.*

*Avelingnes* (1246), Ch.R.; *Ave*, *Havelinges*, Fr.Ch. = *Avening* (Gl.) < O.E. *Æfeningas*, cf. TAYLOR, Names, p. 354.

*heselinge*, I.El.; *Ixelinge* (1279-88), C.R. = *Exning* (Sf.); *hexeninge*, I.El.; *Exning'*, H.R., *Exninge* (1272-79), C.R.

It is true that many of the above instances might be explained as due to the change of endings, particularly as in most cases *-ning* and *-ring* have been replaced by the more familiar *-ling*. There is, however, one circumstance which decidedly tells in favour of A.N. influence, viz. that the irregular forms are mainly confined to D.B. and other early records, like Fr.Ch., I.El., I.C.C., R.B., while the normal and present forms regularly reappear in MSS. of a later date, which in a much lesser degree are affected by this influence.

Besides, a similar interchange occurs also in French place-names. Cf. *Frasnines* (1101) = *Fralignes* (Aube), see MEYNIER, 1898, p. 141; *Pons Berengarii* (1203), *Pons Bellengerii* (1278) = *Pont-Bellenger* (Calvados); *Berengreville* (1418), *Bellangreville* (1454) = *Bellengreville* (Calv.), see Dic. Topogr. du Calvados. Cf. also the various O.Fr. forms of *galingal* mentioned below.

Our lists exhibit no instance of the unetymological forms having prevailed.

On the other hand, we have noted one case where at a late date *-ning* was substituted for *-ling*, viz. *Coneyswick* or *Connings-*

wick (Wo.), *Colingwic*, D.B., *Collingwike* (1275), *Colyngwyk* (1327). Cf. DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 41. The first reference for *n* given by Duignan is *Conisweeke* (1603). Here the change may be due to some popular etymology.

An interchange of *-ling*, *-ning*, *ring* is, however, not unknown in the English dialects, not only where French loan-words are concerned<sup>1</sup>, but also in native words: *reckoling* < reckoning, *yeaveling*, *eveling* < evening (see KRUISINGA § 366; FRANZMEYER, p. 8), *pollinger* < porringer — *r* at least is here due to native development — in which *-ning*, *-ring* has been replaced by *-ling*. It is more astonishing that the less common *-ring* should sometimes appear for *-ning*, *-ling*, as in *everin* < evening (see FRANZMEYER, p. 8), and, if Hope is to be trusted, in Hellingly (Ss.), dialectally pronounced »Herringlye», »Hellinglye».

## E. Interchange of unstressed *le* (el), *ne* (en), *re* (er).

### 1. In the middle of the word.

#### a. *n* > *r*, *l*.

*Witreham*, Fr.Ch. = Wytham (Be.) < O.E. *Witanham*, cf. Mdf., p. 152.

*Hedrehan* (1088), Index; *Hadrehan*, Ch.R. = Haddenham (Bu.) < O.E.

*Headda*, Searle; *Hadenam*, D.B.; *Hedenham*, H.R.; *Haddenham*, F.A.

*Beccheretona*, Fr.Ch. = Beachampton (Bu.) < O.E. *-hantun* = *hām* + *tūn*;

*Bechantona*, Fr.Ch.

*Wandrie*, D.B. = Wendy (Cb.) < O.E. \**Wendanige* (cf. SKEAT, Pl.Ns. of Cb. p. 55); *Wendye* (1316), *Wendeye* (1346), F.A.

*Hadreham*, D.B.; *Haddreham*, *Hæderham*, I.El. = Haddenham (Cb.) < O.E. *Headda*; *Hadenham*, I.El.; *Hadenham* (c. 1300), Cat. A.D.

*Sidreham*, *Sidelham*, D.B. = Sydenham (Dv.); cf. O.E. *Sidanham*, Birch 759; *Sydeham*, H.R., T.N.; *Sydynham*, F.A.

*Wigrehala*, D.B. = Wiggenshall (Nf.) < O.E. *Wicga*, *Wigga*, Searle; *Wygenhal*, F.A.

*Mundreham*, D.B.; *Mundre*, *Mondreham*, Fr.Ch. = Mundham (Ss.) < O.E. *Mundan ham*, Index.

*Ackiltone*, D.B. = Eckington (Ss.) < O.E. *Ecca*, Searle; *Echentone*, D.B.; *Echinton*, T.N.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mod. Engl. *galingale*, M.E. *ganyngale*, *galyngale* (Mätzner) corresponding to O.Fr. *garingal*, *galingal*, *ganigal* (Godefroy) < Arab. *khaulinjān* (N.E.D.).

b.  $l > r$ .

*Citremetona*, D.B. = Chittlehampton (Dv.) < O.E. *Cytel*, Searle (cf. also *cytel*, Mdf., p. 37); *Chitelhamton*, F.A.

*Tistertune*, D.B. < O.E. *pistel*, Mdf., p. 139; *Tisteltone*, D.B.

*Wifretorp*, D.B. = Wilsthorpe (Yo.) < O.E. *wifel*, Mdf., p. 150; *Wifles-torp*, D.B.

*Ampreford*, D.B. = Ampleforth (Yo.); *Ambleford*, D.B.; *Ampliesford*, T.N.; *Ampelford*, Ch.R. I, Yo. K.Q.

c.  $r > l$ .

*Liuelmera*, D.B. = Levermere (Sf.); *Liuermera*, D.B.; *Leuremere*, Inq.El.

*Amblesberie*, D.B. = Amesbury (Wl.) < O.E. *Ambresbyri*, A.S. Chr.; *Ambresberie*, D.B.; *Ambresbur'*, H.R., T.N.

2. *At the end of the word.*a.  $n > r$ .

*Avere*, D.B.; *Auren*, Laȝamon, v. 2498 = the river Avon < O.E. *Afen*, *Afene*, *Afenan*, A.S. Chr.

*Bucfastra*, D.B.; *Bufestre*, T.N.; *Bufestre*, Ch.R. II = Buckfast (Dv.); *Bocfasta* (1377—81), P.R.; *Bukfast* (1318—23) C.R.; *Bucfaste*, *Bukfast* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M. *Bucfastra*, D.B. etc., is in our opinion best explained from a M.E. form *Bucfasten*, -ne, where -fasten represents O.E. *fæsten*. In fact, this very form appears in *Bugwastene* (1292), Index.

*Nigravre*, D.B. = Nether Avon (Wl.); *Netheraven*, H.R.

*Oppavrene*, D.B. = Upavon (Wl.); *Uphavene*, H.R.

*Upelider* (*er* < *en* < *an*, weakened form of *an* often = *ham* in the A.N. recs.), D.B. = Upleatham (Yo.); *Lethum*, *Lithum*, Yo. K.Q., Yo. N.V.

b.  $l > r$ .

*Tanbre A*, *T...mbre B*, Laȝamon, v. 28532 = Camelford (Co.), *Camelford*, Laȝamon, v. 28534 < Britain *Camlan*, cf. MADDEN, p. 408, where more old forms are noted.

*Pidre*, *Pidere*, *Pidrie*, *Pitretonc*, *Piretone*, D.B. = Puddle, Puddletown (Do.) < O.E. *Pydele*, *Uppidelen*, Kemble 656, 522; *Pidele*, D.B.; *Pidele*, *Pudele*, *Pedyll*, *Pudull*, F.A.

*Filunger*, D.B. = Fillongley (Wa.); *Fillingle*, Ch.R. I; *Fylinge*, H.R. < O.E. *lēah*.

c.  $r > l$ .

*Aissele*, *Aissela*, D.B. = Esher (Sr.); *Esshere*, *Essere*, Kemble 812, 988; *Assere*, D.B.

As for the above forms A.N. influence is hardly to be questioned when we consider the time and place of their appearance. Moreover, most instances cannot well be explained by the aid of English sound-laws, whereas numerous parallel cases may be pointed to in O.Fr. In the majority of cases unstressed *ne*, *le* has been changed to *re*, more seldom the other way.

In O.Fr. the transition of unstressed *ne* to *re* is very usual — particularly after the consonants *m*, *p*, *f*, *v*, *d*, *t*, and the palatals — not only in words of Latin origin (*joevres* < *junenis* etc.) but also in the Germanic loan-words (*havre* < *hæfene*). Cf. EURÉN, p. 26 f.; MENER, p. 85; MACKEL, p. 63. This agrees well with such instances as *Witreham*, *Hedrehan*, and others brought together in 1 a and 2 a.

We believe GRAMMONT, p. 139, is right in considering this whole transition as the work of analogy. The combination cons. + *ne* was unusual, and was, therefore, replaced by the more familiar one of cons. + *re*, more seldom *le*, as in *havle* < *hæfene*. With this latter we may compare *Sidelham* (1 a) by the side of *Sidreham* (ib.).

The French form *Londres* < *Londinum* (cf. Forbiger III, p. 283) = London, which also belongs here, we have not found except in purely French works. On the other hand, *Lundreis* as the denomination of the inhabitants of London is used by R.Br., p. 120. The English equivalent is *Lundenisc*, A.S.Chr.

Also unstressed *le* passes into *re* in O.Fr. after certain consonants (dentals, labials, gutturals; after *t* the transition seems to be regular). Cf. EURÉN, p. 21 ff.; NYROP, Gramm. § 341. Double forms existed of a not inconsiderable number of words: *title*, *titre*; *escandle*, *escandre*; *idle*, *idre* (< *idolum*) etc. It is obviously this O.Fr. sound-change that has operated in *Wifre-torp*, *Pidre*, and other instances noted in 1 b and 2 b. The occasional appearance of *l* for *r* (1 c, 2 c) may be due to the analogy of the above-mentioned French doublets: *title*, *titre* etc.

As for the explanation of the transition, we are once more ready to subscribe to the view of GRAMMONT, p. 130, who has

characterized it as a process of analogical transformation in the manner of the many words in cons. + *re* already existing in the language. Acoustic resemblance between *l* and *r*, and the lack of distinctness in articulation which must, necessarily, have resulted from the absence of stress have, no doubt, facilitated the change.

A similar interchange of unstressed *l*, *n*, *r* is of rare occurrence in English. At the utmost, a few cases due to the change of suffixes may be pointed to: M.E. *dronkele* for *droncnen*, *nemele* for *nemnen*, *scorkle* for *scorknen*, *brutle* for *brutne*. See KLUGE, Paul's Gr., p. 1022. A few more instances from the English dialects are adduced by FRANZMEYER, p. 5.

A number of cases, where in the spelling of place-names older *le* has been replaced by modern *re*, *ne*, and conversely, or where interchange appears in later forms unaffected by A.N. influence call for various explanations.

In the following instances the change may be due to popular etymology: Childerditch (Es.), *Ciltendis*, D.B., *Chiltendich*, T.N., *Chiltendich*, -*dik*, H.R. Forms with *r* do not appear until the 14th cent. (*Childerdyche*, F.A.), and have probably arisen by association with *childer*, a usual dialectal plural form of »child»; see E.D.Gr. § 380. — In all early spellings Londonthorpe (Li.) appears without *n*, as in *Lundetorp*, D.B., *Lundthorp* (1227), Ch.R., *Lunderthorp*, H.R., T.N., F.A. etc. *London Thorpe*, M.Br., is the first reference we have found for the modern form, which seems to be due to the analogy of London.

We will now draw attention to another procedure by which many cases of the late interchange in question may have originated. It often happens that under circumstances not yet fully cleared up an unstressed *l*, *n* or *r* is dropped in M.E. Orthography is, however, particularly where place-names are concerned, very conservative, and the scribes, in their vain attempts to produce what in their opinion was the etymologically correct form, may often have substituted another consonant for the one which was already lost in pronunciation. For want of a better name we will call this method of procedure false reconstructive spelling. It goes without saying that such a spelling sometimes has called forth a new pronunciation. An instance or two may be adduced to illustrate our theory.

Loss of *l* in Prittlewell (Es.) (cf. *Pritewell*, 1303, F.A.) gives rise to graphic uncertainty, both *r* and *n* being introduced as substitutes for *l*: *Priterwell*, F.A., *Preterwell* (1467—77), P.R., *Putenewell* (1267), Ch.R. — *l* is lost also in Chivelston (Dv.), whereupon *r* appears by the side of *l* in the spelling, *Cheverston* (1409), Index, *Chyvelston*, F.A.

In the above-mentioned two cases the erroneous forms have had no effect upon the modern spelling and pronunciation. This has been the case, however, with the following places. Farmington (Gl.) certainly goes back to an O.E. *\*furmuntun* (cf. old forms like *Tormentone*, D.B., and *Thormanton*, K.Q., 1284). Such a form as *Thormanton* has undergone a twofold development: (1) *n* is kept; *en* > *in* > *ing* = Farmington; (2) *n* is lost, and replaced by unetymological *r* = *Thormerton* (1303, 16), F.A. The place is still called by both these names, see BARTH. — The oldest spellings we have found of Thurlton (Nf.) are *Thuruerton*, D.B., *Thurvertun* (Hen. III.), Index. *r* is dropped (cf. *Thurweton*, 1384, Index), and *l* is now introduced instead of *r*. The dialectal pronunciation seems to ignore this *l*, to judge by the form *Thurton* on the map of Nf. in Camden. — Hilderston (St.) < O.E. *Hildewulf* (cf. *Heldulvestune*, D.B.), and Kidderminster (Wo.) < older *Kydelminster* also belong here. For numerous references to old forms, see DUIGNAN, St. Pl.Ns. p. 79; Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 96. — Ashmansworth (Ha.) and Rickmansworth (Ht.) are two more instances of false reconstructive spelling. That *n* is unoriginal is evident from such early spellings as *Æscmeres weorþ*, Earle, *Asshmeresworth* (1316), F.A.; *Prichemare*, *Ricemareworde*, D.B., *Rikemers*, *Rykemerysworth*, F.A.

Both popular etymology (association with »straggle») and false reconstruction (we have noted a form without *r* as early as in the T.N.) may have caused the change of *r* to *l* in Stragglethorp (Li.), all the oldest forms of which (*Strager*-, *Stragar*-, H.R., T.N., F.A. etc.) unambiguously point to original *r*. Our first forms with *l* are *Stragelthorp*, *Shragulthorpe* (1346, 1401), F.A. — Worston (St.) also admits of this double explanation. The etymology is *\*Wigfrithestun* (cf. *Wyfridestone*, 13 c., DUIGNAN, Pl.Ns. of St., p. 176). Later forms with *l* (*Wiveleston*, 13 c. etc.) may be due to association with O.E. *wifel*, or false insertion of *l* as a substitute for *r*.

§ 8. *l* before a consonant is vocalized or lost.A. *l* is vocalized<sup>1</sup>.

## 1. After a from various O.E. sources.

1. Stotfold (Bd.) < O.E. *fald*, *falod*, Mdf., p. 49. 2. Wyboston (Bd.) < O.E. *Wigbeald*, Searle. 3. Aldwark (Db.) < O.E. *eald*. 4. Faulkbourne (Es.) < O.E. *fealcen*, Mdf., p. 50. 5. Waltham (Es.) < O.E. *Wealtham*, Kemble 608. 6. Oldbury upon Severn (Gl.) < O.E. *eald*. 7. Waltham (Ha.). 8. Calbourne (Ha.). 9. Harbledown (Ke.) < O.E. *Herebeald*, Searle. 10. Aldington (Ke.). 11. Mablethorp (Li.), perhaps from an unrecorded O.E. \**Mælbeorht*. 12. Cuxwold (Li.) < O.E. *weald*, Mdf., p. 146. 13. Alford (Li.). 14. Walsingham (Nf.) < O.E. *Walsingaham* (TAYLOR, Names, p. 353). 15. Scaldwell (Np.). 16. Wakeringham (Nt.). 17. Shalford (Sr.) < O.E. *scealde*, Mdf., p. 111. 18. Cowfold (Ss.) < O.E. *fald*.

D.B. *Cauborne*<sup>8</sup>, *Audintone*<sup>10</sup>, *Aldintone*<sup>10</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Maubertorp*<sup>11</sup> (1191).

13th c. — C.R. *Wautham*<sup>5</sup> (72–79). Ch.R. *Wautham*<sup>5</sup>. F.A. *Aldinton*<sup>10</sup> (1284). H.R. *Walt*, *Wautham*<sup>5</sup>. Index. *Stotfau*<sup>1</sup>, *Wibaudeston*<sup>2</sup> (1208), *Audewerk*<sup>3</sup> (1289), *Maubertorp*<sup>11</sup> (1263), *Malberthorp*<sup>11</sup> (1256), *Auford*<sup>13</sup> (1220), *Wausingham*<sup>14</sup> (1262), *Scaudewell*<sup>15</sup>, *Waucringham*<sup>16</sup>, *Scaudeford*<sup>17</sup>, *Cufaude*<sup>18</sup>. T.N. *Cukewaud*, *-wald*<sup>12</sup>.

14th c. — F.A. *Faukeburne*<sup>4</sup>, *Falkeburn*<sup>4</sup> (1303), *Kokewald*<sup>12</sup>. Index. *Aldeuerk*<sup>3</sup> (1309), *Audebyre*<sup>6</sup> (1301), *Wautham*<sup>7</sup> (1304), *Schaldeuwell*<sup>15</sup> (1384).

15th c. — Index. *Wybaldeston*<sup>2</sup> (1444). P.R. *Harbaldowne*<sup>9</sup>, *Herebaudon*<sup>9</sup>.

2. After e from various O.E. sources<sup>2</sup>.a. In *feld*.

1. Bradfield (Be.) < O.E. *æt Bradanfelda* (c. 990), Index. 2. Sheffield (Be.). 3. Hatfield Peverel (Es.). 4. Kelfield (Li.). 5. Smithfield (Li.). 6. Catfield (Nf.). 7. Whitfield (Np.). 8. Fressingfield (Sf.). 9. Stanningfield (Sf.). 10. Waldingfield (Sf.). 11. Westerfield (Sf.). 12. Whatfield (Sf.). 13. Ifield (Ss.). 14. Uckfield (Ss.). 15. Bradfield (Wl.). 16. Wakefield (Yo.). 17. Sheffield (Yo.).

12th c. — Index. *Smetfeud*<sup>5</sup>, *Smethefeld*<sup>5</sup>, *Withesfeld*<sup>7</sup> (c. 1150).

13th c. — Index. *Bradfeud*<sup>1</sup> (1277), *Bradefeld*<sup>1</sup>, *Scheufeud*<sup>2</sup> (1284), *Scefeld*<sup>2</sup> (1202), *Hathfeud*<sup>3</sup>, *Kelkefeud*<sup>4</sup> (1281), *Catefeld*<sup>6</sup> (1297), *Whitefeud*<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> We have arranged our material according to the quality of the vowel that precedes *l*.

<sup>2</sup> We will first adduce some instances of place-names containing O.E. *feld*; then proceed to deal with some other examples.

*Fresingfeud*<sup>2</sup>, *Fresingfeld*<sup>3</sup>, *Waudingfeud*<sup>10</sup>, *Wallynfeud*<sup>10</sup>, *Waldingfeld*<sup>10</sup>, *Westerfeud*<sup>11</sup> (1287), *Watefeud*<sup>12</sup>, *Ifeud*<sup>13</sup>. T.N. *Brade-feud*, *fel*<sup>1</sup>, *feld*<sup>15</sup>. Yo. S.R. *Wakefeld*, *-feud*<sup>16</sup>, *Schefeld*<sup>17</sup>, *Scefeud*<sup>17</sup> (1297).

14th c. — Index. *Catefeud*<sup>6</sup> (1308), *Stanefeld*, *-feud*<sup>9</sup>, *Waldingefeld*, *-feud*<sup>10</sup>, *Watfeld*<sup>13</sup> (1398), *Ifeld*<sup>13</sup> (1316), *Ifeude*<sup>13</sup> (1352), *Ockefeld*<sup>14</sup> (c. 1306), *Ukfeud*<sup>14</sup> (1322), *Wakefeud*<sup>16</sup> (1303).

### b. In other cases.

1. Elstow (Bd.), perhaps < O.E. *ellen*, Mdf., p. 45<sup>1</sup>. 2. Elmton (Db.) < O.E. *elm*, Mdf., p. 45. 3. Chelborough (Do.) < O.E. *Cheolesburh*, Kemble 366, 412, 454. 4. Elmstead (Es.) < O.E. *elm*<sup>2</sup>. 5. Chawton (Ha.). Either < O.E. *Ceol*, Searle (cf. also *ceole*, Mdf., p. 26) or *Ceawa*, *ibid.*, in which latter case *el* (D.B.) would be an inverted spelling for *au*. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable one when we consider that in no other case have the A.N. forms prevailed. 6. Hemswell (Li.) < O.E. *Helm*, Searle. 7. Belchford (Li.)<sup>3</sup>. 8. Feltwell (Nf.). 9. Elmsett (Sf.) < O.E. *Ylmesæton* (10 c.), Index. 10. Bexhill (Ss.), cf. O.E. *Becca*, Searle. 11. Elmley Castle (Wo.) < O.E. *Elmlege*, Birch 235. 12. Helmsley (Yo.) < O.E. *Helm*, Searle.

D.B. *Elnestou*<sup>1</sup>, *Celberge*<sup>3</sup>, *Elm*, *Almestedam*<sup>4</sup>, *Celtone*<sup>5</sup>, *Helmesvelle*<sup>6</sup>, *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup>, *Feltwella*<sup>8</sup>, *Bezelei*<sup>10</sup>, *Elmeslac*<sup>12</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Fletuella*<sup>3</sup> (1147), *Fautewelle*<sup>8</sup> (1162), *Feute*, *Fautewell*<sup>8</sup> (1179). Li.S. *Helmes*, *Halmesuuella*<sup>6</sup>.

13th c. — Annales Mon. *Elne*, *Alne*, *Aunestowe*<sup>1</sup>. C.R. *Chauton*<sup>5</sup> (79—88), *Chaul*, *Chauton*<sup>5</sup> (72—79), *Chauton*<sup>5</sup> (79—88). Ch.R. *Aumeton*<sup>2</sup> I, *Elmesete*<sup>9</sup>, *Aumesete*<sup>9</sup> I, *Aumesete*, *-scete*<sup>9</sup> II, *Aumelegh*<sup>12</sup> II. H.R. *Elmestede*, *-stade*<sup>4</sup>, *Belcheford*<sup>7</sup>, *Byxle*<sup>10</sup>. Index. *Elnestou*<sup>1</sup> (1203—06), *Elmestede*<sup>4</sup> (1243), *Beudeford*<sup>7</sup> (1247), *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup> (1297), *Feuteuuelle*<sup>8</sup>, *Feltewell*<sup>8</sup> (1272). P.R. *Hamelac*<sup>12</sup> (25—32). Rievaulx Ch. *Helmesleia*<sup>12</sup>, *Helmeslac*<sup>12</sup>, *Halmelac*<sup>12</sup>, *Hamelak*<sup>12</sup>, *Haumeslac*<sup>12</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Bd., derives the first compound of this place from O.E. *Æthelnoth*; we consider a derivation from O.E. *ellen* as equally probable, and account for the forms with *a*, *au* as due to A.N. sound-change.

<sup>2</sup> STOLZE, p. 15 Anm. 2, thinks the D.B. form *alm*- is due to Scand. *almr*, *alm*. In fact, this word occurs in M.E. in the compound *alme-barke*. See Halliwell's Dic.<sup>6</sup> (1904), p. 47. Forms like *Elmsted* being in such a great majority, *Alm*- is probably best explained as an A.N. form.

<sup>3</sup> The etymology of this word is obscure. I think we are on the safe side in considering the combination *-lt(e)s-* to be the original one. Modern *ch* is perhaps to be compared with ›linchpin‹, ›henchman‹ < *linspin*, *hensman*, which are looked upon by HORN, Gutturallaute, p. 64, as ›hyperliterary‹ forms. If this conjecture is right, we have to start from such a form as *Belseford*, whence *Belcheford*.

*Hamelenc*<sup>12</sup>, *Hamylac*<sup>12</sup> S.R. *Elmeleye*<sup>11</sup> (1275) (see DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 58). Ss. Records. *Beause*<sup>10</sup> (see Vict. Hist. of Ss., p. 537). T.N. *Chaub'ge*<sup>8</sup>, *Elmstede*<sup>4</sup>, *Cheleton*<sup>5</sup>, *Chauton*<sup>5</sup>, *Beauford*<sup>7</sup>. Yo. K.Q. *Hammelec*<sup>12</sup>, *Haunelec*<sup>12</sup>.

14th c. — C.R. *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup> (81—85), *Hamelak*<sup>12</sup> (13—18, 43—46—49), *Helmesleye*<sup>12</sup> (46—49). Cat. A.D. *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup> (1361, 62), *Hamelak*<sup>12</sup>. F.A. *Chawberge*<sup>8</sup>, *Schaweberge*<sup>8</sup>, *Chelberg*<sup>8</sup>, *Chelbury*<sup>8</sup>, *Cheldeborowe*<sup>8</sup>, *Elmestede*<sup>4</sup>, *Helmeswell*<sup>6</sup>, *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup>. P.R. *Estchelberewe*<sup>8</sup> (43—45), *Beltesford*<sup>7</sup> (81—85), *Beze*<sup>10</sup> (30—34), *Hamelak*<sup>12</sup> (43—45—48). Yo. N.V. *Helmeslegh*<sup>12</sup>.

15th c. — F.A. *Belford*<sup>7</sup> (1401). I.P.M. *Helmesley*<sup>12</sup> (Hen. VII.). P.R. *Belcheford*<sup>7</sup> (67—77).

### 3. After o < O.E. o.

Bircholt (Ke.) < O.E. *holt*, Mdf., p. 75. D.B. *Beriscolt*, *Berisout*. Ke. P.F. *Biricholt* (1204).

### B. l ist lost.

#### 1. After a from various O.E. sources.

1. Smallridge (Dv.) < O.E. *smæl*, Mdf., p. 118. 2. Alconbury (Hu.) < O.E. *Alkmund*, Searle. 3. Palgrave (Nf.) < O.E. *Palegrave* (a. 962), Birch 1084. 4. Scaldwell (Np.). 5. Halnaker (Ss.). 6. Calne (Wl.). 7. Helmsley (Yo.) < O.E. *Helm*, Searle.

D.B. *Esmarige*<sup>1</sup>, *Esmaurige*<sup>1</sup>, *Acumesberie*<sup>2</sup> (*um* = *mu*), *Scalde*, *Scadewell*<sup>4</sup>, *Carma*<sup>6</sup>.

12th c. — Fr.Ch. *Pagava*<sup>8</sup>, *Halnac*<sup>5</sup>, *Hannac*<sup>5</sup>.

13th c. — C.R. *Hamelak*<sup>7</sup>. H.R. *Alkmundebir*<sup>12</sup>, *Calna*<sup>6</sup>, *Calne*<sup>6</sup>. P.R. *Hamelak*<sup>7</sup>. Rievaulx Ch. *Hamelak*<sup>7</sup>, *Hamylac*<sup>7</sup>.

#### 2. After e from various O.E. sources.

1. Silverley (Cb.) < O.E. *seolfer*, *silfer*, Sweet, A.S. Dic. 2. Shilvington (Do.) < O.E. *scylf*, Mdf., p. 114. 3. Canfield (Es.) < O.E. *feld*.

D.B. *Severlai*<sup>1</sup>, *Sevemeton*<sup>2</sup>, *Scilfemetune*<sup>2</sup>.

12th c. — I.C.C. *Seuerlai*<sup>1</sup>. Inq. El. *Seuerlaio*<sup>1</sup>, *Seilverleia*<sup>1</sup>. Index. *Kanefed*<sup>8</sup>.

13th c. — Index. *Childeskanefeld*<sup>8</sup> (1285).

14th c. — F.A. *Silverle*<sup>1</sup> (1302), *Schilfamton*<sup>2</sup>, *Shulfhampton*<sup>2</sup>, *Shilvington*<sup>2</sup>, *Canefeld*<sup>8</sup>.

### 3. After o < O.E. o.

Rolvenden Hundred (Ke.) < *Rolf*, Searle. D.B. *Rovinden*. F.A. *Rolvyn*<sup>den</sup>. T.N. *Rolvendenn*.

4. *After i < O.E. i.*

1. Wilbraham (Cb.) < O.E. *Wilburgeham*, Birch 630. 2. Wymondley (Ht.) < O.E. *Wilmund*, Searle. 3. Wilting (Ss.).

D.B. *Wiborham*<sup>1</sup>, *Wimundeslai*<sup>2</sup>, *Witinges*<sup>3</sup>.

12th c. — I.C.C. *Wilburgeham*<sup>1</sup>. Inq. El. *Wilbergeham*<sup>1</sup>, *Wiborgeham*<sup>1</sup>. Index. *Wilburcham*<sup>1</sup> (1150).

13th c. — H.R. *Wilmundele*<sup>2</sup>. R.B. *Willemundele*<sup>2</sup>. T.N. *Wilemundeslea*<sup>2</sup>.

14th c. — Index. *Wylburham*<sup>1</sup>, *Wilburgham*<sup>1</sup>.

5. *After u < O.E. u.*

Bulkington (Wa.), cf. O.E. *Bulcan pyt*, Kemble 133. D.B. *Bochintone*. Index. *Bulkinton* (1232).

It is a well-known fact that *l* before a consonant was generally kept in M.E. It was hardly until late M.E. or early N.E. times that a glide *u* developed before *l* in the groups *āl*, *ōl*, *ǫl*. At about the same time loss of *l* is evidenced. This loss, which in some dialects has a much larger extension than in Standard English, appears almost exclusively after a guttural vowel. Cf. on this question HORN, Gramm. §§ 42, 231 ff.; LUCK, Anglia XVI, p. 462 ff.; GRÜNING, p. 21.

In O.Fr. vocalization of *l* before a consonant set in very early, and the process had certainly commenced at the time of the Conquest. Cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Gramm. § 482; NYROP, Gramm. § 343.

Most instances of *l > u* which we have brought together in list A can only be accounted for as due to this sound-change. The etymological spelling with *l* is kept very long in A.N. *u* does not become general until the 13th and 14th cent. Cf. SUCHIER, *Les voyelles toniques du vieux franç.*, p. 144; STIMMING, p. 210. This fits in with the circumstance that *l* for *u* in English place-names is of sporadic occurrence until the 13th cent., when it becomes much more usual. In the 2nd vol. of the F.A. 9 out of 17 places in *feld* occur only with *l*-forms, one only with *u*-forms; for the remaining names we have found both *l*- and *u*-forms. It goes without saying that, though *l* was orthographically retained in A.N., it nevertheless was pronounced *u*. Cf. the variant spellings of the River Eaulne in Benoit, v. 21372: *Æne*, *Elne*, *Eiaulne*.

From the earliest time loss of  $u < l$  before a consonant is attested in A.N. In one and the same text we find instances of loss as well as of  $l > u$ . Cf. MENER, p. 85. The loss seems to have been general after  $i$ ,  $u$  ( $< \text{Lat. } \bar{u}$ ),  $\bar{e}$  ( $< \text{Lat. } a$ ), but is well instanced also after other vowels. Cf. STIMMING, p. 211; MENER, p. 85 f.

This phenomenon appears, though more rarely, in English place-names, and is particularly well attested in examples from D.B. We are well aware that some of the instances of loss given in list B may be explained as due to dissimilation, but as so many remain which do not admit such an explanation, we have not considered it necessary to distinguish between the two.

The following cases of addition of an unetymological  $l$  may be adduced as a further proof of loss having taken place: *Olpeſsa*<sup>1</sup>, Exon D.B., *Ulpesse*, Exchequer, D.B. = Up Exe (Dv.), *Opexe*, *Upexe*, F.A.  $<$  O.E. *ūp*, Mdf., p. 142; *Fulſescote*, D.B. = Foxcott (Ha.), *Foxcote* (1316, 46), F.A.  $<$  O.E. *fox*, Mdf., p. 53 ( $s$  for  $x$  may be another A.N. peculiarity); *Holſtune*, D.B. ( $s = (\gamma)$ ) = Houghton (Ha), *Hochthon*, Ch.R. II, *Hough*-, *Hoghton*, F.A.  $<$  O.E. *hōh*, Mdf., p. 75; *Horſted*, -*ſteld*, Fr.Ch. = Horstead (Nf.), *Horſtede*, H.R.  $<$  O.E. *ſtede*, Mdf., p. 125; *Falveſham*, R.B. = Faversham (Ke.)  $<$  O.E. *Faures(feld)*, A.S. Chr.; *Olfam*, Fr.Ch. = Offham (Ss.), *Offham* (1200), Index  $<$  O.E. *Offa* Searle.

In this place a few instances of loss from O.Fr. works may also be quoted: *Suefoc*, *Sufoche*, Rou, v. 7737 = Suffolk; *Norſoc*, -*foche*, ib., v. 7738 = Norfolk; *Watehan*, ib., v. 8994 = Waltham (Es.); *Gedefort*, *Geldefort*, ib., v. 4722 = Guildford (Sr.) (Guill. le Mar., v. 13801, has *Geudefort*); *Mammesbere*, Guill. le Mar., v. 15257 = Malmesbury (Wl.).

Between O.Fr.  $e$  and  $l$  + cons.  $a$  was developed as a glide. The new combination is orthographically represented by *eal*, *eau*, *al*, *au*. Often *el* is kept, more seldom — and, as it seems, hardly ever except in the A.N. dialect — we find *eu*. All the above-mentioned spellings are to be found in our earliest A.N. texts. Cf. SUCHIER, Les voyelles etc., p. 151 ff.; MENER, p. 59. Under

<sup>1</sup> That  $l$  in *Olpeſsa* etc. is inorganic, and does not stand for  $ou = o$ , is the more probable as  $ou$  for  $o$  was rarely used in A.N.; it hardly even appears in the earliest texts. Cf. MENER, p. 67. STOLZE, pp. 19, 20 f., records no single instance of  $ou$  for O.E.  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  in D.B.

such circumstances we need not hesitate to ascribe to French influence such forms as *Halmelac*, *Aunestowe*, *Feutewell*, *Beautesjord*, and others recorded in list A 2 b.

In no instance have the French forms prevailed. As to *Celtone* D.B. = Chawton (Ha.) (A 2 b) we have already hinted at the possibility of *el* being an inverted spelling for *au*. In this particular case we have, moreover, not been able to ascertain if the identification is absolutely certain. On the change of *Dunelme* > *Durelme* > *Dureaume* > *Duram*, cf. § 7 B., p. 134 f.

NOTE. Loss of *l* in the present pronunciation of Wymondley (Ht.) (B 4), Hemswell (Li.) (A 2 b), Calne (Wl.) (B 1) (pron. without *l*, according to GRÜNING, p. 22) is, no doubt, of a comparatively recent date, and by no means due to A.N. influence. In the first two cases dissimilation may have caused the loss; besides, there are instances of the groups *lm*, *ln* having been simplified in English independent of dissimilatory influences. Cf. on this point EKWALL, Jones's Phonography §§ 571, 577.

In the case of Helmsley (Yo.) the A.N. forms are exceedingly well represented<sup>1</sup>. *Hamelac* etc. is often found as late as the 14th cent. In Camden II, p. 912, the place in question is called *Elmesley* and *Hamlak*. In the first element the following stages of development are represented: *Helm* > *Heaum* > *Haum* > *Ham* with loss of *u*. The second element is obviously O.E. *leāh*, *leāge*, *lēh*, *lēge*, which was turned into *lac*, *lec* by the Normans<sup>2</sup>. To account for *lac* < *lēh*, *lēge* two explanations seem to be equally possible: (1) *lac*, *lec* may be taken to represent the nominative *lēh*, in which case Norman *k* has been substituted for English (*χ*)<sup>3</sup>. (2) If we start from the oblique cases, *lac* may as well be a Latinized form of *lēge*, *leie*. Cf. *Gurnai* = *Gornaco* (pers.name), R.B.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the immediate neighbourhood are still to be found the ruins of Helmsley castle, constructed in the 12th cent.; BARTH.

<sup>2</sup> In Gaimar, v. 6448 f., *Helmeslac* rhymes with *Espac* (a pers. name).

<sup>3</sup> A similar substitution is indicated by such D.B. spellings as *Pochelac* = Pockley (Yo.); *Asmundrelac* = Osmotherley (Yo.); *Wisoc* = Wysall (Nt.) (*l* is a later addition), *Wishow*, -owe, F.A.; as probably also by *Spelehot* = Spelho Hundred (Np.), *Speltoh* (1076), Geld. Inq., and *Caissot* = Keysoe (Bd.). If so, *t* in the two latter cases is a mistake for *c*. On the other hand, -ot may also be the French diminutive suffix.

<sup>4</sup> The Celtic base *acum* is of frequent occurrence in French place-names, and results in *ay*, *ey* in the North of France. Cf. QUICHERAT, p. 41.

That official Latin forms, like *Hamelac* for \**Hamelei*, may be adopted into the spoken language, and even eventually supersede the phonetic forms, is proved fully by the occurrence of parallel cases. Thus Mod. Fr. Orléans for O.Fr. *Orliens*, Guill. le Mar., v. 4490, etc. < Lat. *Aurelianum*, is due to the influence of the Latin ending *-ianum* (cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Einführung in das Stud. der rom. Sprachwissenschaft, p. 194), and in the English place-nomenclature we may point out two cases where the whole name appears in a true Latin form, viz. Pontefract or Pomfret (Yo.), Melsa or Meaux (Yo.).

NOTE 1. A perfect analogy to the treatment of the second element of Helmsley is offered by the following early references for Beverley (Yo.): *Beureli*, D.B.; *Beverlacum* (c. 1199), Fr.Ch.; *Beverley* (John), Yo. P.F.; *Beverlacensis* (1286), *Beverlacum* (1305), Beverley Chapter Act Book (Surtees Soc., 1898); *Beverli*, Rievaulx Ch.; *Beverlacum*, Yo. N.V. Forms like *Beverlay*: lay, *Beverle*: pre, R.Br. p. 29, p. 235, point to an O.E. ground-form *lēh*, *lē*, *lēge*. *Beoferlic*, A.S. Chr., may be due to the Latinizing of such a form as *Beureli*, D.B., where unetymological *-li* has been substituted for *-ley*<sup>1</sup>. TAYLOR, Names, p. 68, is considerably disturbed by the forms *Beoferlic* and *Beverlac*. He points to a hypothetical Celtic ground-form \**Pedwarllech*. Our explanation solves every difficulty, as far as the forms *-lac*, *-ley* are concerned, though we admit that *Beoferlic*, A.S. Chr., complicates matters. To assume French influence on the forms of personal-names and place-names in the later MSS. of the A.S. Chr. is, however, quite permissible. We have had occasion more than once to dwell upon such forms, and a thorough special investigation might perhaps bring forth more instances of the same kind.

NOTE 2. STOLZE, p. 38, adduces some instances of *l* having been dropped in weak-stressed position, which in his opinion are due to mere carelessness of the scribes. In consideration of the great number of similar instances we would rather suggest that the phenomenon in question reflects an A.N. phonetic tendency, by means of which the combination *l*+cons. is avoided. We must keep in mind that the change of *l*>*u* took place also in weak-stressed position. On the other hand, unstressed *l* before a cons. was sometimes lost in English itself, though we do not yet know under what circumstances this loss took place. Without presuming to decide in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catereio*, *Cetereio* by the side of *Ceterio*, I.El. < O.E. *Ceateric*, Thorpe = Chatteris (Cb.). Is this curious interchange due to the analogy of such French forms as *Abbaneio*, *Aubeny*, R.B., *Albineium* (1108), *Aubeni* (1160) = Aubigny (Calvados); *Aniseium* (1198), *Anisie* (1155) = Anisy (Calv.), *Aguerneium* (1180), *Agerni* (1190) = Anguerny (Calv.) (see Dictionnaire Topogr. du Calv.) < Celtic *-iacum*, which on Norman territory seems to have given both *-ei* and *-i*. Cf. QUICHERAT, p. 37.

each particular case whether the loss is due to French influence or to English sound-development, we will content ourselves with adducing some instances calculated to illustrate the loss. The chronology may sometimes serve as a criterion. If the occurrence of forms without *l* is confined to D.B. and other early Anglo-Latin records French influence is highly probable, whereas it must be altogether out of the question when the loss is not evidenced until the 14th and 15th cent. We have noted the following cases: *Liticote*, Fr.Ch. = Littlecote (Bu.) < O.E. *lytel*, Mdf., p. 90; *Witesie*, D.B. = Whittlesea (Cb.), *Witleseye* (1389) (Conybeare's Cbs., p. 147) < O.E. \**Hwitel* (cf. SKEAT, Pl.-Ns. of Cb., p. 55); *Cingefort*, D.B., *Chinge*, *Chingelford*, H.R., *Chinkeford* (1279—88), C.R. = Chingford (Es.), *Chyngelford* (1288—96), C.R., *Shingelford* (1346), F.A.; *Pritteuella* D.B., *Prit*, *Pritewell* (13 c., 15 c., 17 c.), Index = Prittlewell (Es.), *Pritelwelle*, H.R., *Pritelewell*, F.A.; *Brempschott* (1428), F.A. = Bramshot (Ha.), *Brembelshute* (1316), F.A. < O.E. *brembel*, Mdf., p. 17; *Puteorde*, *Puteleorde*, D.B. = Prittleworth (Ha.); *Fengesham* (1206), Ke. P.F. = Finglesham (Ke.) < O.E. *ƿenglesham* (c. 831), Index; *Stapeford*, Fr.Ch. = Stapleford (Le.), *Estapleford*, Fr.Ch. < O.E. *stapol*, Mdf., p. 123; *Brokesby*, F.A. = Brocklesby (Li.), *Brochelesbi*, D.B., *Broclesby*, T.N., *Brokelesby*, F.A.; *Hundeby*, D.B. = Hundelby (Li.), *Hundelbia* (1145), Index, *Hundelby* (14 c.), Index, F.A.; *Cringaforda*, *Kri'gelforda*, D.B. = Cringleford (Nf.), *Cryngylford* (14 c., 15 c.); *Esbece*, D.B. = Haselbeech (Np.), *Haselbech*, Np.S. < O.E., *hæsel*, Mdf., p. 66; *Hangetone*, D.B. = Hangleton (Ss.), *Hangel*, *Hangleton*, T.N.; *Chineworde*, D.B. = Kenilworth (Wa.), *Kenileworth*, Ch.R. I < O.E. *Cinildewyrth*, according to TAYLOR, Names, p. 160; Hasbury (Wo.), *Haselburi* (13 c., 14 c.) (cf. DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 78); *Huertleberie*, D.B. = Hartlebury (Wo.) < O.E. *Heortlabyrig*, Birch 360, 361; *Rybecestre* (1232—74), P.R. = Ribchester (Yo.), *Ribelcastre*, D.B.; *Crigestone*, D.B. = Crigglestone (Yo.), *Crigleston* (1191), Yo. P.F.

## § 9. *a* before nasal groups becomes *au*.

After the year 1250 the spelling *au*n for *an* appears in nearly all English place-names exhibiting this sound-combination. We will therefore content ourselves with adducing some instances where the forms in *au* have been retained either in spelling or in pronunciation.

1. Saunderton (Bu.). 2. Cambridge (Cb.) < O.E. *Grantebrycg*, A.S. Chr. 3. Launceston (Co.), »*Lanstuphadon*, i.e. the Church of Stephen, commonly call'd *Launston*» (CAMDEN I, p. 25); »a corruption of *Lan-Stephen-dun*, 'the hill by St. Stephen's Church', an adjacent monastery being dedicated to St. Stephen» (TAYLOR, Names, p. 169)<sup>1</sup>. 4. Taunton (Co.) < O.E. *Tantun*,

<sup>1</sup> Launceston (formerly *Dunneheved*) was the ancient capital of Co. At the time of the Conquest it contained a famous castle, and was also the seat of an Augustinian priory; BARTH.

A.S. Chr., Thorpe<sup>1</sup>. 5. Penzance (Co.), »means 'Saint's head' or 'holy head' from a chapel dedicated to St. Anthony» (TAYLOR, Names, p. 220). 6. Saunton (Dv.) < O.E. *sand*, Mdf., p. 109. 7. Braunton (Dv.) < O.E. *brant*, Mdf., p. 17. 8. Caundle (Do.)? < O.E. *candel*, Mdf., p. 24. 9. Staunton (Gl.) < O.E. *stān*, Mdf., p. 122. 10. Staunton (He.) < O.E. *stān*. 11. Braunceswell (Li.). 12. Braunston (Np.), probably < O.E. *Brand*, Searle. 13. Saundby (Nt.) < O.E. *sand*. 14. Staunton (Nt.) < O.E. *stān*. 15. Staunton (Wo.) < O.E. *Stan tune*, Birch 1281.

D.B. *Santesdune*<sup>1</sup>, *Lancavetone*<sup>2</sup>, *Santone*<sup>3</sup>, *Brantone*<sup>7</sup>, *Candel*<sup>8</sup>, *Stantune*<sup>9</sup>, *Standone*<sup>10</sup>, *Branzeuuelle*<sup>11</sup>, *Sandeby*<sup>12</sup>.

12th c. — Index. *Santersdune*<sup>1</sup> (Hen. II.). Pi.R. *Cantabrigia*<sup>2</sup>, *Lanzaunton*<sup>3</sup> (1189—90), *Branton*<sup>7</sup> (1184).

13th c. — C.R. *Cantebrug*<sup>2</sup> (1218), *Lanzaveton*<sup>3</sup> (31—34), *Tanton*<sup>4</sup> (31—34). Ch.R. *Laustaneton*<sup>8</sup> (1229), *Bramton*<sup>7</sup> (1229), *Braundeston*<sup>12</sup> II. F.A. *Staunton*<sup>9</sup> (1284). H.R. *Sant'sdon*<sup>1</sup>, *Lancaneton*<sup>3</sup>, *Branton*<sup>7</sup>, *Stanton*<sup>9</sup>, *Brancewell*<sup>11</sup>. Index. *Kandel*<sup>8</sup>, *Caundell*<sup>8</sup> (1280). P.R. *Lancaveton*<sup>3</sup> (32—47), *Tanton*<sup>4</sup> (ib.). R.B. *Lansanestone*<sup>8</sup>, *Lancaneton*<sup>3</sup>, *Landstanelle*<sup>8</sup>. R.Gl. *Grauntebrugge*<sup>2</sup>, v. 132. T.N. *Sant'don*<sup>1</sup>, *Saundesdon*<sup>1</sup>, *Castrum de Landstavest*<sup>3</sup>, *Landstanest*<sup>8</sup>, *Branton*<sup>7</sup>, *Brampton*<sup>7</sup>, *Stanton*<sup>9</sup>, *Sandeby*<sup>12</sup>, *Stan*-, *Staunton*<sup>14</sup>. Wo. S.R. *Stantone*<sup>15</sup> (1275) (see DUIGNAN, Wo. Pl.Ns., p. 153).

14th c. — F.A. *Sauntredone*<sup>1</sup> (1302), *Sauntredene*<sup>2</sup> (1346), *Staunton*<sup>9</sup> (1316), *Staunton*<sup>10</sup> (1316, 46), *Braunceswell*<sup>11</sup> (1303, 46), *Braundeston*<sup>12</sup> (1346), *Saundebby*<sup>12</sup> (1302, 16). Index. *Saundreton*<sup>1</sup> (1317), *Saundreston*<sup>1</sup> (1389), *Launceton*<sup>3</sup> (1369), *Brampton*<sup>7</sup> (1322).

15th c. — F.A. *Lanceston*<sup>3</sup> (1428), *Stanton*<sup>9</sup> (1402), *Staunton*<sup>9</sup> (1428, 31), *Staunton*<sup>10</sup> (1431), *Braundeston*<sup>12</sup>, *Saunby*<sup>12</sup> (1428). I.P.M. *Saunton*<sup>9</sup> (Hen. VII.), *Brampton*<sup>7</sup> (ib.), *Caundell*<sup>8</sup> (ib.). Index. *Caundell*<sup>8</sup> (1419) Paston Letters. *Kaum*-, *Caumbrege*<sup>2</sup> (cf. NEUMANN, pp. 21, 22).

16th c. — Index. *Lanceston*<sup>3</sup> (1573), *Pensaunce*<sup>5</sup> (1552).

In M.E. as well as A.N. texts from the middle of the 13th cent. downward we often find the spelling *au* + nasal + cons. in words containing an original *a*. This spelling is in English mainly confined to French loan-words, though it also occurs in some words of native origin. In the Orthographica Gallica, an A.N. spelling-book of the 13th or 14th cent., we are expressly told that the value of this spelling was *aun*. Cf. STÜRZINGER, p. 19. Statements to the same effect are made by

<sup>1</sup> Taunton is a very ancient place, and was a favourite residence of the West Saxon kings. Its castle, now used as a museum, was founded about 700 A.D.; BARTH.

the English orthoëpists of the 16th cent. Cf. LUTICK, *Anglia* XVI, p. 480.

This *au* has in Modern English given different results before different consonantal combinations:

1. (ei) before *mb*, as in »chamber».
2. (aa), (ɔɔ) before *nt*, *nd*, as in »aunt», »grant»; »haunt», »taunt» — »demand», »slander»; »Maundy Thursday».
3. (aa) before *ns*, as in »chance», »dance».

It is, however, not to be forgotten that in a few English words (»answer», »ant» etc.) we find the same sound-development as in the French loan-words, according to Sweet, H.E.S. § 860, due to the analogy of the numerous French words with *ant*, *ans*.

To judge by the present orthography, most English place-names of the kind here in question have been developed according to English sound-laws. Bartholomew's *Gazetteer* has about 40 Stantons and only 9 Stauntons, several scores of places beginning with Sand- against 7 in Saund-, 14 Brans- against 4 Brauns- etc. The comparatively small number of forms with *au* is, however, sufficient to prove that A.N. forms have been adopted in spelling and pronunciation, and often superseded the native ones.

Where such has been the case the result of the further development of *au* has been the same as in the French loan-words:

1. (ei) in Cambridge, pron. (keimbridʒ), Tanger.
2. (aa) in Staunton, pron. (staantən), Tanger<sup>1</sup>, Launceston, pron. (laanstən), Tanger, Penzance, sometimes pron. (penzaans)<sup>2</sup>.
3. (ɔɔ) in Taunton, pron. (tɔəntən), Tanger.

Though we have not been able to ascertain the pron. of Braunton, Staunton, Caundle etc., we are hardly much mistaken

<sup>1</sup> Close to the village of Staunton (Wo.) there is a manor-house, Staunton Hall, which has belonged to the family of Staunton ever since the Norman Conquest. It is, indeed, very probable that the name of the place owes its present spelling and pronunciation to the family-name. Cf. Introduction, p. 15. In like manner Saunderton (Bu.) may have been influenced by the family-name Saunders, pron. (saandəz), Tanger < *Alisaundre*. Cf. BARDSLEY'S Dic., p. 668.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Ekwall kindly informs me that the local pron. is (penzæns); this being so (penzaans) is, no doubt, a mere spelling-pron.

in assuming that (æ) is the local pron., (ɔ) or (aa) the one used by people unacquainted with the respective localities (spelling-pron.). As a matter of fact, several Stauntons are locally pronounced (stæntən), see Tanger, Hope. In Magna Britannia and Camden we often find the spelling *a* where a modern Gazetteer has *au*, a circumstance which also seems to indicate a local pronunciation (æ): Saunderton = *Sanderton*, M.Br., *Senderton*, Camden; Saunton = *Santon*, M.Br.; Braunton = *Branton*, M.Br., Camden; Brauncewell = *Branswell*, M.Br., Camden; Saundby = *Sandeby*, M.Br.; Staunton (He.) = *Stanton*, Camden. In many of these cases present *au* may be considered as an archaic spelling, a remainder from that time (13th—16th c.) when in the Latin and English records the A.N. *au*-forms were much more widely diffused than they are now.

In several Mod. English dialects, especially in the Midlands, O.E. *a*, *o* appears as *o* before a nasal (Cf. E.D.Gr. § 30 f.), and *au* in the present spelling may sometimes very well be a symbol of this sound<sup>1</sup>. That such is not the case in the instances treated of above is clearly shown by the circumstance that *au* makes its first appearance at the same time as in the French loan-words, and is, moreover, not confined to any dialect, but is to be found all over the country.

### § 10. Change of (tʃ) > (ʃ).

1. Chalfont (Bu.). 2. Chelmorton (Db.) < O.E. *Ceolmæc*, Searle. 3. Chesterfield (Db.) < O.E. *ceaster*, *cester*. 4. Chelborough (Do.) < O.E. *Ceol*, Searle. 5. Chingford (Es.). 6. Chedworth (Gl.) < O.E. *Cedda*, Searle. 7. Churchdown (Gl.) < O.E. *cyrice*, Mdf., p. 37. 8. Charlton (Ha.). 9. Chart-ham (Ke.) < O.E. *ceart*, *cert*, Mdf., p. 26. 10. Charwelton (Np.). 11. Checkendon (Ox.) < O.E. *Cæcca*, Searle. 12. Chipstead (Sr.).

13th c. — F.A. *Shedeworth*<sup>6</sup> (1284), *Ghertheham*<sup>9</sup> (1284), *Chakendon*<sup>11</sup> (1284). H.R. *Chinge*-, *Chingelford*<sup>5</sup>. Index. *Chalfhunte*<sup>1</sup> (1208), *Cherteham*<sup>9</sup> (1263), *Scharwelton*<sup>10</sup> (Hen. III.), *Charwilton*<sup>10</sup> (1203), *Chepsted*<sup>12</sup> (1250).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Launton (Ox.), *Langtun* (1066), Index; *Langetune* (Hen. III.), *ibid.*; *Langtun*, V.E. The present spelling seems to date only from the beginning of the 18th cent. The transition of (ŋ) > (n) is, no doubt, due to the assimilatory influence of the following *t*.

14th c. — F.A. *Chalfunte*<sup>1</sup> (1303), *Chalphunte*<sup>1</sup> (1316), *Chalfhunte*<sup>1</sup> (1346), *Chasterfeld*<sup>3</sup> (1346), *Schaweberge*<sup>4</sup> (1303), *Chelbergh*<sup>4</sup> (1346), *Shingelford*<sup>5</sup> (1346), *Chinggeford*<sup>5</sup> (1303), *Cheddeworth*<sup>6</sup> (1303, 46), *Chedworth*<sup>6</sup> (1316), *Schurchedon*<sup>7</sup> (1303), *Churchesdon*<sup>7</sup> (1316), *Schalston*<sup>8</sup> (1316), *Chalghton*<sup>8</sup> (1346), *Chertham*<sup>9</sup> (1316), *Charewelton*<sup>10</sup> (1316), *Chakindon*<sup>11</sup> (1316), *Chakendon*<sup>11</sup> (1346). Index. *Shalfount*<sup>1</sup> (1375), *Scheilmardon*<sup>2</sup> (1317), *Chepstede*<sup>12</sup> (1365). Nt. Recs. *Shasterfeld*<sup>3</sup> (c. 1300).

15th c. — F.A. *Chelmardon*<sup>2</sup> (1431), *Chelburgh*<sup>4</sup> (1431), *Cheldeborrowe*<sup>4</sup> (1428), *Chyneygford*<sup>5</sup> (1428), *Churchedon*<sup>7</sup> (1402), *Chaulton*<sup>8</sup> (1428), *Charewelton*<sup>10</sup> (1428), *Shakynden*<sup>11</sup> (1428). Index. *Scherthom*<sup>9</sup> (1423), *Chipstede*<sup>12</sup> (1429), *Shipstede*<sup>12</sup> (1424).

In the course of the 13th cent. O.Fr. (tʃ) was changed to (ʃ). Cf. NYROP, Gramm. § 402. The above instances of *sh*, *sch* for *ch* are, no doubt, due to this sound-development. In the French loan-words in English BEHRENS, p. 178, notes several instances of *sch* for *ch*, which really may indicate an incidental pron. (ʃ) for (tʃ) in imitation of later A.N. habits of speech<sup>1</sup>.

The opposite phenomenon, *ch* used for *sh*, *sch*, we have also noted in several cases, e.g. *Chifforde*, F.A. = Shefford (Be.); *Chelford*, ib. = Shelford (Cb.); *Chettisbeare*, ib. = Shittisbeer (Dv.); *Cherynge* (14 c.), ib. = Sheering (Es.); *Chepehale* (14 c.), ib. = Shephall (Ht.); *Chymplynge* (1371), Index = Shimpling (Sf.); *Chipley* (1562), Index = Shipley (Ss.); *Chustoke* (1323), Index = Shustoke (Wa.).

The spelling *ch* for *sh*, *sch* is, besides, not uncommon either in French loan-words (see BEHRENS, p. 190) or in native words. See SWEET, H.E.S. § 607; DIBELIUS, p. 462; NEUMANN, p. 73. Cases of this kind are probably to be considered as inverted spellings, originally used by scribes who were Frenchmen by birth or at least possessed some knowledge of the French language.

We are more surprised at finding *sh*, *sch* for *ch* in several 14th and 15th cent. spellings of native words. For instances see DIBELIUS, p. 461 f.; NEUMANN, p. 88; HORN, Gutturallaute, p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> French loan-words in English of early introduction, naturally, keep the old sound (tʃ). In dialectal *schesel* (E. Angl., see E.D.D.), corresponding to literary English *chisel* < Picard *chisel*, later A.N. (ʃ) seems, however, to have ousted earlier (tʃ). As a personal name O.Fr. *chanoine*, *chanonis* (plural) Godefroy) has survived to the present day in both forms, Shannon and Channon. See BARDSLEY'S Dic., p. 681.

Many more are noted in N.E.D. It is very hard to tell if we here have to do only with faulty spelling, caused by the interchange of *ch*, *sch* in words of French origin, or if original (tʃ) really had been turned into (ʃ).

As a matter of fact (ʃ) does occasionally occur for (tʃ) even in the South E. dialects where it is not to be accounted for as a dialectal adaptation of (tʃ) in Standard English. Cf. HORN, l.c. To explain South E. dial. (ʃ) < (tʃ) HORN, *ibid.*, assumes that the French loan-words, have influenced the pron. of native words containing (tʃ). However, owing to their very sporadic occurrence, it would probably be safer to explain the few cases which have been recorded as mere individual mispronunciations; in connected speech (tʃ) in certain positions (cf. below, (tʃ) before a consonant) may easily have been assimilated to (ʃ). The great acoustic resemblance between (tʃ) and (ʃ) is also to be taken into consideration.

In a few instances a place-name with original *ch* = (tʃ) occurs in Mod. E. with *sh* = (ʃ)<sup>1</sup>:

Flendish Hundred (Cb.), *Flamingdice*, D.B., *Flammigedic*, *flamingedich*, Inq. El., *Flemedich* (1158), Pi.R., *Flemdiche* (1302), F.A. < O.E. *dic*. The true English form is kept in Fleam Dike, cf. SKEAT, Cb. Pl.-Ns., p. 40 f.

Lashbrook (Dv.), *Lachebroc*, D.B., *Lecchebrok*, *Lachebroch*, F.A., possibly < O.E. *læce*, Mdf., p. 85.

Washlington Hundred (Ke.), *Wacheleston*, D.B., *Wechelstone* (1316), *Wachelstane* (1346), F.A., *Watchlingston* (1587), Index; cf. O.E. *wæcel*, *wacel*, Mdf. p. 140.

<sup>1</sup> In Shelmerdine, a personal name derived from a locality, present *sh* stands for earlier *ch*. BARDSLEY, Dic. p. 683, who gives some late references for the word, is unable to find the spot, but remarks that the habitat must be sought for in S. Lanc. or E. Chesh. We do not hesitate to identify Shelmerdine with Chelmorton, a town in the adjacent part of Derbyshire, of which, besides numerous forms in *ch* (*Chelmerden*, *Cheilardon*, *Chelmorden*, Index), we have also found one in *sh*, viz. *Scheilmardon* (1317), Index. The etymology is obviously O.E. *Ceolmæc* (cf. above), and *sh* in the present spelling and pron. of the personal name is, in all probability, due to French influence. On the other hand, several instances where present *sh* is explained by BARDSLEY as due to earlier *ch* are wrong. Sherrington and Shillingford (see Bardsley, p. 685) must by no means be derived from \**Cherrington*, \**Chillingford*, as the early forms of the corresponding localities exhibit nothing but *s*, *sch*, *sh*.

Washford (Sm.), *Wachetford* (1367), Index; cf. Watchet (Sm.), *Weced*, *Wæced*, A.S. Chr., *Wechet*, *Wachet* (13 c.), H.R., Index.

Wishford (Wl.), *Wicheford*, D.B., *Wyche*-, *Wichford*, H.R., T.N., *Wiche*-, *Wichford*, Ch.R. I, II, *Wichford* (1351), Index, *Wycheford* (1445), ib., *Wyssheford* (1513), ib., *Wisheford* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M. All the old forms point to original *ch*, probably O.E. *wic*.

Etchilhampton (Wl.), locally pron. »Ashelton», »Ashlington» (see JONES, Domesday Book for Wl., p. 213), *Echel*-, *Hechelhampton*, H.R., *Hechelhampton* (1318—23), C.R., *Echel*-, *Hechelampton* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M.

Sharncott<sup>1</sup> (Wl.), *Cernecote* (1327—30), C.R., *Cernecote* (1536), Index, *Sharncote*, Camden, on the map of Wl. This little place is situated on the Churne, from which it seems to have derived its name<sup>2</sup>. The forms *Sharncote*, *Cernecote* presuppose the following development:

O.E. \**Cirencote* > M.E.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*Cherncote} \\ \text{Cernecote} \end{array} \right. > \text{Sharncote}.$

To account for the above instances of (j) < (t) French influence can hardly be assumed but in the case of Sharncott, supposing our guess at the etymology to be correct. It is remarkable that in nearly all the remaining cases<sup>3</sup> *ch* was followed by a consonant, and a transition of *ch* > *sh* before a consonant seems very plausible.

This leaves us with Flendish unexplained. It would perhaps not be impossible to assume confusion with O.E. *disc*, which, according to SKEAT, Bd. Pl.-Ns. (see under Farndish), occurs in English place-names in the sense of »cup», »hollow»<sup>4</sup>. But in

<sup>1</sup> To be kept apart from Sharcott (Wl.) near Pewsey.

<sup>2</sup> Charmouth (Do.) appears in old spellings as *Chernemeue*, *Charnemouth*, F.A., *Cernemue*, Ch.R. II. Cf. also such French forms as *Cernay*, *Charny* (see Dic. Topogr.) = Cernay (Marne).

<sup>3</sup> The two places Chatton and Chillingham, both of them situated in Northumberland, are dialectally pronounced with (j) (see ELLIS, English Dial. Soc. 50, p. 128), which here, no doubt, is best explained as a dialectal adaptation of the Standard pronunciation.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Farndish (Bd.), *Fernadis*, D.B., *Farnesdisch*, T.N., *Farnedis*, *-diche*, *-dich*, F.A.; Bendish (Ht.), *Benedis*, D.B.; Standish (Gl.), *Stanedis*, D.B., *Stanedix* (c. 1200), Gl. Recs., *Stanedis* (1260), ib., *Stanedyssh*, *-dich* (1290), ib., *Standyshe* (1551), ib.

this particular case there is another way of accounting for the change. The mere circumstance that in the M.E. spellings of place-names *-is* could stand for *-iz* < *-ich* (by A.N. sound-substitution, see § 1 list C, p. 22), as well as *-ish*, might easily have induced a scribe to put *-ish* for *-ich*, and vice-versa. And such a form, which owes its existence to a scribal error, may have succeeded in superseding the etymological one.

A few instances may be adduced to show what important part spelling plays in a case like this. Of Barton Bendish, a small place in Nf., we have ascertained the following early forms: *Bynedich* (1316), F.A., *Bendysh* (1467—77), P.R. On so little evidence it is quite impossible to decide which of the forms is the original one. (*Byne*)*dich*, F.A., points to O.E. *-dic*, though, for all we know, *-disc* may really be the true etymology. Only a sufficient number of early references could decide the question. — Nothing but modern *-idge*, which, at least from a phonetic point of view, cannot be due to *-ish*, makes us assume original *ch* for the following places: Pentridge (Do.), *Pentrich* (1303), *Pentryssh* (1346), F.A.; Whitnage (in Uplowman, Dv.), *Witenes*, D.B., *Whyteneth* (*th* = *ch*), T.N., *Hwytenych* (1316), F.A., *Wytenisshe* (1346), ib. — In Cranwich (Nf.) etymological *sc*, *sch* has, at least in the spelling, been ousted by *ch*. All the early spellings of the name of this place exhibit *-isse*, *-ys* *-ysh* etc.<sup>1</sup>, and, according to Hope, it is still dialectally pronounced with *s*. Two forms in *-iz* from the F.A. give us the clue to the transformation. This *-iz* may originally have been a spelling for *-is*; however, to French *-iz* corresponded very often English *-ich*, hence the modern form.

NOTE. Perhaps this whole question is in some way connected with the curious interchange of the endings *-is*, *-ich*, *-ish*, *-idge* which has been noted in several English words. Thus »notice» and »rubbish» appear in several dialects with *-idge*. See E.D.D. On the other hand *-ish* sometimes appears for *-idge*, as in *podish* for »porridge», *demish* for »damage». See N.E.D. and E.D.D.

In the place-name Sundridge (Ke.) earlier *-esh* *-ish* has, in a similar manner, been replaced by *-idge*. Old forms are *Sunderhirse* (1072), Index, *Sonderesse*, D.B., *Sunderesshe* (1316), F.A., *Sonderershe* (1346), ib., *Sundrisse*, *Sundrissh* (1461—67), P.R. Our first reference for *-idge* is *Sundrygge* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M., by the side of *Sondrissh*, ib. BARDSLEY, Dic., p. 712, derives Standage, a personal name, from Standish.

<sup>1</sup> Such early spellings are *Cranewisse*, D.B., *Cranewisse*, *Crenewis*, Inq. El., *Cranewes*, *Cranewys*, *Cranewyz*, *Carnuiz*, F.A., *Cranwyshe* (Hen. VII.), I.P.M.

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Abbreviations: f.n. = foot-note; n. = note.

### English place-names and river-names.

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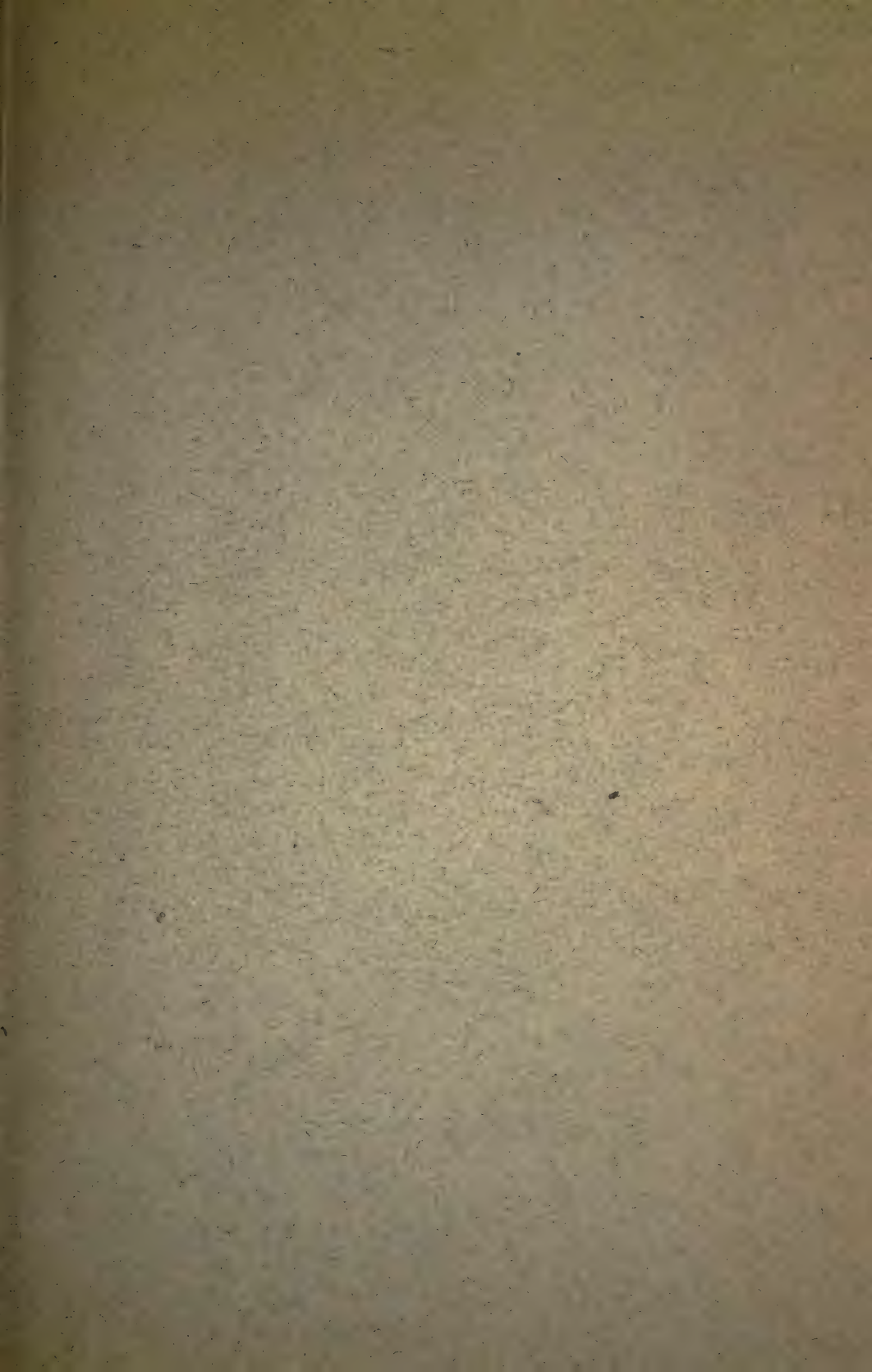
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